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THE
PLAYS
OF
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

CONTENTS.

PROLEGOMENA, &c.

LONDON:

Printed for J. Adcock, R. Baldwin, H. L. Carter, W. I. and T. Richardson,
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1803.

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CONTAINING

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L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Johnson, R. Baldwin, H. L. Gardner, W. J. and J. Richardson, J. Nichols and Son, F. and C. Rivington, T. Payne, R. Faulder, G. and J. Robinson, W. Lowndes, G. Wilkie, J. Scatcherd, T. Egerton, J. Walker, W. Clarke and Son, J. Barker and Son, D. Ogilvy and Son, Cuthell and Martin, R. Lea, P. Macqueen, J. Nunn, Lackington, Allen and Co. T. Kay, J. Deighton, J. White, W. Miller, Vernor and Hood, D. Walker, B. Crosby and Co. Longman and Rees, Cadell and Davies, T. Hurst, J. Harding, R. H. Evans, S. Bagster, J. Mawman, Blacks and Parry, R. Bent, and T. Ostell.

1803.

THE

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OF

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

VOLUME THE THIRD

CONTAINING

THE TRAGEDY OF KING LEAR

LONDON

Printed by J. PLYMSELL, Printer, Leather Lane, Holborn, London.

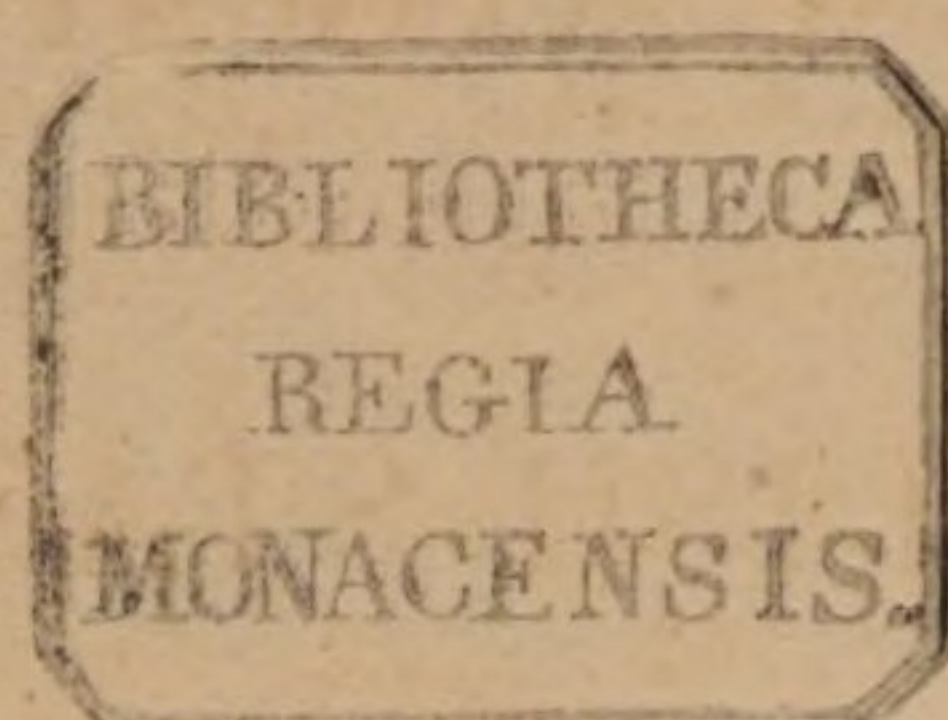
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ADDITIONAL
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AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
THE RISE AND PROGRESS
OF
THE ENGLISH STAGE,
AND OF
THE ECONOMY AND USAGES OF OUR ANCIENT
THEATRES.

VOL. III.

B



AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
THE ENGLISH STAGE.

THE drama before the time of Shakspeare was so little cultivated, or so ill understood, that to many it may appear unnecessary to carry our theatrical researches higher than that period. Dryden has truly observed, that he “found not, but created first the stage;” of which no one can doubt, who considers, that of all the plays issued from the press antecedent to the year 1592, when there is reason to believe he commenced a dramatick writer, the titles are scarcely known, except to antiquaries; nor is there one of them that will bear a second perusal. Yet these, contemptible and few as they are, we may suppose to have been the most popular productions of the time, and the best that had been exhibited before the appearance of Shakspeare.¹

¹ There are but thirty-eight plays, (exclusive of mysteries, moralities, interludes, and translated pieces,) now extant, written antecedent to, or in, the year 1592. Their titles are as follows :*

<i>Acolastus</i>	-	1540		<i>Tancred and Gismund</i>	1568
<i>Ferrex and Porrex</i>	-	1561		<i>Cambyfes</i> , no date, but	
<i>Damon and Pythias</i>	-	1562		probably written before	1570

* To this list may be added a piece hitherto mentioned in no catalogue, nor to be found in any library, except that of the Duke of Bridgewater, entitled, “*The rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*. Plaide before the Queene’s most excellent Maiefty; wherein are manye fine conceites with

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

A minute investigation, therefore, of the origin

<i>Appius and Virginia</i>	} 1575	<i>Soliman and Perseda</i>	} in or before 1592
<i>Gam. Gurton's Needle</i>		<i>Midas</i>	
<i>Promos and Cassandra</i>	- 1578	<i>Galathea</i>	} before 1592
<i>Arraignement of Paris</i>	} 1584	<i>Arden of Feversham</i>	
<i>Sappho and Phao</i>		<i>Orlando Furioso</i>	} before 1592
<i>Alexander and Campaspe</i>		<i>Alphonfus King of Aragon</i>	
<i>Misfortunes of Arthur</i>	- 1587	<i>James IV. King of Scotland</i>	} before 1592
<i>Jeronimo</i>	} 1588	<i>A Lookinglass for London and England</i>	
<i>Spanish Tragedy, or Hieronimo is mad again</i>		<i>Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay</i>	} before 1592
<i>Tamburlaine</i>	} 1589	<i>Jew of Malta</i>	
<i>Titus Andronicus</i>		<i>Dr. Faustus</i>	} before 1592
<i>King Henry V. in or before</i>	1589	<i>Edward II.</i>	
<i>Contention between the Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, in or before</i>	1590	<i>Lust's Dominion</i>	} before 1592
<i>King John, in two parts</i>	} 1591	<i>Massacre of Paris</i>	
<i>Endymion</i>		<i>Dido</i>	

Between the years 1592 and 1600, the following plays were printed or exhibited; the greater part of which, probably, were written before our author commenced play-wright:

<i>Cleopatra</i>	} 1593	<i>Antonius</i>	} 1595
<i>Edward I.</i>		<i>Edward III.</i>	
<i>Battle of Alcazar</i>	} 1594	<i>Wily Beguiled</i>	} 1597
<i>Wounds of Civil War</i>		<i>Woman in the Moon</i>	
<i>Selymus, Emperor of the Turks</i>		<i>Mucedorus</i>	} 1598
<i>Cornelia</i>	} 1594	<i>The virtuous Octavia</i>	
<i>Mother Bombie</i>		<i>Blind Beggar of Alexandria</i>	} 1599
<i>The Cocker's Prophecy</i>	} 1594	<i>Every Man in his Humour</i>	
<i>The Wars of Cyrus</i>		<i>Pinner of Wakefield</i>	} 1599
<i>King Leir</i>	} 1594	<i>Warning for fair Women</i>	
<i>Taming of a Shrew</i>		<i>David and Bethsabe</i>	} 1599
<i>An old Wives Tale</i>	} 1594	<i>Two angry Women of Abingdon</i>	
<i>Maid's Metamorphoses</i>			
<i>Love's Metamorphoses</i>			
<i>Pedler's Prophecy</i>			

great delight. At London: Printed by E. A. for Edward White, and are to be solde at the little Northe doore of St. Paules Church, at the signe of the Gunne, 1589." 4to. REED.

and progress of the drama in England, will scarcely repay the labour of the inquiry. However, as the best introduction to an account of the internal economy and usages of the English theatres in the time of Shakspeare, (the principal object of this dissertation,) I shall take a cursory view of our most ancient dramattick exhibitions, though I fear I can add but little to the researches which have already been made on that subject.

Mr. Warton in his elegant and ingenious *History of English Poetry* has given so accurate an account of our earliest dramattick performances, that I shall make no apology for extracting from various parts of his valuable work, such particulars as suit my present purpose.

The earliest dramattick entertainments exhibited in England, as well as every other part of Europe, were of a religious kind. So early as in the beginning of the twelfth century, it was customary in England on holy festivals to represent, in or near the churches, either the lives and miracles of saints, or the most important stories of Scripture. From the subject of these spectacles, which, as has been observed, were either the miracles of saints, or the more mysterious parts of holy writ, such as the incarna-

<i>The Case is altered</i> <i>Every Man out of his</i> <i>Humour</i> <i>The Trial of Chevalry</i>	} 1599	<i>Humorous Day's Mirth</i> <i>Summer's last Will and</i> <i>Testament.*</i>	} 1599
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* Also the following :

A Knack to know a Knave, 1594.

Jack Straw's Life and Death, 1594.

A Knack to know an honest Man, 1596.

Two valiant Knightes, Clyomon and Clamydes, 1599.

Several dramattick pieces are also entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, within the above period, which have not been printed. Their titles may be found in *Herbert's* edition of *Ames*, and *Egerton's Theatrical Remembrancer*. REED.

tion, passion, and resurrection of Christ, these scriptural plays were denominated *Miracles*, or *Mysteries*. At what period of time they were first exhibited in this country, I am unable to ascertain. Undoubtedly, however, they are of very great antiquity; and Riccoboni, who has contended that the Italian theatre is the most ancient in Europe, has claimed for his country an honour to which it is not entitled. The era of the earliest representation in Italy,² founded on holy writ, he has placed in the year 1264, when the fraternity *del Gonfalone* was established; but we had similar exhibitions in England above 150 years before that time. In the year 1110, as Dr. Percy and Mr. Warton have observed, the Miracle-play of *Saint Catharine*, written by Geoffrey, a learned Norman, (afterwards Abbot of St. Alban's,) was acted, probably by his scholars, in the abbey of Dunstable; perhaps the first spectacle of this kind exhibited in England.³ William Fitz-Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, who according to the best accounts composed his very curious work in 1174, about four years after the murder of his patron Archbishop Becket, and in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Henry the Second, mentions, that "London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has religious plays, either the representations of miracles wrought by holy confessors, or the sufferings of martyrs."⁴

² The French theatre cannot be traced higher than the year 1398, when the Mystery of the Passion was represented at St. Maur.

³ Apud Dunestapliam—quendam ludum de sancta Katerina (quem MIRACULA vulgariter appellamus) fecit. Ad quæ decoranda, petiit à sacrista sancti Albani, ut sibi capæ chorales accommodarentur, et obtinuit." Vitæ Abbat. ad calc. Hist. Mat. Paris, folio, 1639, p. 56.

⁴ "Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis,

Mr. Warton has remarked, that “in the time of Chaucer, Plays of Miracles appear to have been the common resort of idle goffips in Lent :

- ‘ Therefore made I my visitations
- ‘ To vigilies and to processions ;
- ‘ To prechings eke, and to thise pilgrimages,
- ‘ To *playes of miracles*, and mariages,’ &c.⁵

ludos habet sanctiores, repræsentationes miraculorum quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu repræsentationes passionum, quibus claruit constantia martyrum.” *Descriptio nobilissimæ civitatis Lundoniæ*. Fitz-Stephen’s very curious description of London is a portion of a larger work, entitled *Vita sancti Thomæ, Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, i. e. Thomas a Becket. It is ascertained to have been written after the murder of Becket in the year 1170, of which Fitz-Stephen was an ocular witness, and while King Henry II. was yet living. A modern writer with great probability supposes it to have been composed in 1174, the author in one passage mentioning that the church of St. Paul’s was formerly metropolitical, and that it was thought it would become so again, “should the citizens return into the island.” In 1174 King Henry II. and his sons had carried over with them a considerable number of citizens to France, and many English had in that year also gone to Ireland. See Dissertation prefixed to Fitz-Stephen’s *Description of London, newly translated*, &c. 4to. 1772, p. 16.—Near the end of his Description is a passage which ascertains it to have been written before the year 1182 : “Lundonia et modernis temporibus reges illustres magnificosque peperit ; imperatricem Matildam, Henricum regem *tertium*, et beatum Thomam” [Thomas Becket]. Some have supposed, that instead of *tertium* we ought to read *secundum*, but the text is undoubtedly right ; and by *tertium*, Fitz-Stephen must have meant Henry, the second son of Henry the Second, who was born in London in 1156-7, and being heir-apparent, after the death of his elder brother William, was crowned king of England in his father’s life-time, on the 15th of July, 1170. He was frequently styled *rex filius*, *rex juvenis*, and sometimes he and his father were denominated *Reges Angliæ*. The young king, who occasionally exercised all the rights and prerogatives of royalty, died in 1182. Had he not been living when Fitz-Stephen wrote, he would probably have added *nuper defunctum*. Neither Henry II. nor Henry III. were born in London. See the *Dissertation* above-cited, p. 12.

⁵ The Wif of Bathes Prologue, v. 6137. Tyrwhitt’s edit,

“ And in Pierce Plowman’s Creed, a piece perhaps prior to Chaucer, a friar Minorite mentions these Miracles as not less frequented than market-towns and fairs :

‘ We haunten no taverns, ne hobelen about,
‘ At markets and Miracles we meddle us never.”

The elegant writer, whose words I have just quoted, has given the following ingenious account of the origin of this rude species of dramatick entertainment :

“ About the eighth century trade was principally carried on by means of fairs, which lasted several days. Charlemagne established many great marts of this sort in France, as did William the Conqueror, and his Norman successors in England. The merchants who frequented these fairs in numerous caravans or companies, employed every art to draw the people together. They were therefore accompanied by jugglers, minstrels, and buffoons ; who were no less interested in giving their attendance, and exerting all their skill on these occasions. As now but few large towns existed, no publick spectacles or popular amusements were established ; and as the sedentary pleasures of domestick life and private society were yet unknown, the fair-time was the season for diversion. In proportion as these shews were attended and encouraged, they began to be set off with new decorations and improvements : and the arts of buffoonery being rendered still more attractive, by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees the clergy observing that the entertainments of dancing, musick, and mimickry, exhibited at these protracted annual celebrities, made the people less religious, by pro-

moting idleness and a love of festivity, proscribed these sports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their censures, they changed their plan, and determined to take these recreations into their own hands. They turned actors; and instead of profane mummeries, presented stories taken from legends or the Bible. This was the origin of sacred comedy. The death of Saint Catharine, acted by the monks of Saint Dennis, rivalled the popularity of the professed players. Musick was admitted into the churches, which served as theatres for the representation of holy farces. The festivals among the French, called *La fete de Foux, de l'Ane*, and *des Innocens*, at length became greater favourites, as they certainly were more capricious and absurd, than the interludes of the buffoons at the fairs. These are the ideas of a judicious French writer now living, who has investigated the history of human manners with great comprehension and sagacity."

"Voltaire's theory on this subject is also very ingenious, and quite new. Religious plays, he supposes, came originally from Constantinople;⁶ where the old Grecian stage continued to flourish in some degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were represented, till the fourth century. About that period, Gregory Nazianzen, an Arch-

⁶ "At Constantinople" as Mr. Warton has elsewhere observed, "it seems that the stage flourished much, under Justinian and Theodora, about the year 540: for in the Basilical codes we have the oath of an actress, *μη αναχωρειν της πορνειας*. Tom. VII. p. 682. edit. Fabrot, Græco-Lat. The ancient Greek fathers, particularly Saint Chrysostom, are full of declamation against the drama; and complain, that the people heard a comedian with much more pleasure than a preacher of the gospel." Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 244, n.

bishop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, banished Pagan plays from the stage at Constantinople, and introduced stories from the Old and New Testament. As the ancient Greek tragedy was a religious spectacle, a transition was made on the same plan; and the chorusses were turned into Christian hymns. Gregory wrote many sacred dramas for this purpose, which have not survived those inimitable compositions over which they triumphed for a time: one, however, his tragedy called *Χριστός πασχων*, or *Christ's Passion*, is still extant. In the prologue it is said to be an imitation of Euripides, and that this is the first time the Virgin Mary had been introduced on the stage. The fashion of acting spiritual dramas, in which at first a due degree of method and decorum was preserved, was at length adopted from Constantinople by the Italians; who framed, in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous species of theatrical representation called MYSTERIES, or sacred comedies, and which were soon after received in France. This opinion will acquire probability, if we consider the early commercial intercourse between Italy and Constantinople: and although the Italians, at the time when they may be supposed to have imported plays of this nature, did not understand the Greek language, yet they could understand, and consequently could imitate, what they saw."

"In defence of Voltaire's hypothesis, it may be further observed, that *The feast of Fools*, and of *the Ass*, with other religious farces of that sort, so common in Europe, originated at Constantinople. They were instituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek Church, about the year 990, by Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, pro-

bably with a better design than is imagined by the ecclesiastical annalists; that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, by the substitution of christian spectacles partaking of the same spirit of licentiousness.—To those who are accustomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies, which the unpolished ages of Europe hold up to our view, it will not appear surprising, that the people who were forbidden to read the events of the sacred history in the Bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, should at the same time be permitted to see them represented on the stage, disgraced with the grossest improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of the most ridiculous kind, sullied with impurities, and expressed in the language of the lowest farce.”

“ On the whole, the *Mysteries* appear to have originated among the ecclesiasticks; and were most probably first acted with any degree of form by the monks. This was certainly the case in the English monasteries.⁷ I have already mentioned the play of Saint Catharine, performed at Dunstable Abbey, by the novices in the eleventh century, under the superintendance of Geoffrey a Parisian ecclesiastick: and the exhibition of the *Passion* by the mendicant friers of Coventry and other places. Instances have

⁷ “ In some regulations given by Cardinal Wolsey to the monasteries of the Canons regular of St. Austin, in the year 1519, the brothers are forbidden to be *lusores* aut *mimici*, players or mimicks. But the prohibition means that the monks should not go abroad to exercise these arts in a secular and mercenary capacity. See *Annal. Burtonenses*, p. 437.”

In 1589, however, an injunction made in the MEXICAN COUNCIL was ratified at Rome, to prohibit all clerks from playing in the *Mysteries*, even on Corpus Christi day. See *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 201.

been given of the like practice among the French. The only persons who could now read were in the religious societies; and various circumstances, peculiarly arising from their situation, profession, and institution, enabled the monks to be the sole performers of these representations."

"As learning encreased, and was more widely disseminated, from the monasteries, by a natural and easy transition, the practice migrated to schools and universities, which were formed on the monastick plan, and in many respects resembled the ecclesiastical bodies."⁸

Candlemas-Day, or *The Slaughter of the Innocents*, written by Ihan Parfre, in 1512, *Mary Magdalene*, produced in the same year,⁹ and *The Promises of God*, written by John Bale, and printed in 1538, are curious specimens of this early species of drama. But the most ancient as well as most complete collection of this kind is, *The Chester Mysteries*, which were written by Ralph Higden, a monk of the Abbey of Chester, about the year 1328,¹

⁸ Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II. pp. 366, *et seq.*

⁹ MSS. Digby, 133, Bibl. Bodl.

¹ MSS. Harl. 2013, &c. "Exhibited at Chester in the year 1327, at the expence of the different trading companies of that city. *The Fall of Lucifer*, by the Tanners. *The Creation*, by the Drapers. *The Deluge*, by the Dyers. *Abraham, Melchisedech, and Lot*, by the Barbers. *Moses, Balak, and Balaam*, by the Cappers. *The Salutation and Nativity*, by the Wrightes. *The Shepherds feeding their Flocks by Night*, by the Painters and Glaziers. *The three Kings*, by the Vintners. *The Oblation of the three Kings*, by the Mercers. *The killing of the Innocents*, by the Goldsmiths. *The Purification*, by the Blacksmiths. *The Temptation*, by the Butchers. *The last Supper*, by the Bakers. *The blind Men and Lazarus*, by the Glovers. *Jesus and the Lepers*, by the Corvesarys. *Christ's Passion*, by the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Ironmongers. *Descent into Hell*, by the

of which a particular account will be found below. I am tempted to transcribe a few lines from the third of these pageants, *The Deluge*, as a specimen of the ancient Mysteries.

The first scenical direction is,—“ *Et primo in aliquo supremo loco, sive in nubibus, si fieri poterat, loquatur DEUS ad Noe, extra archam existente cum*

Cooks and Innkeepers. *The Resurrection*, by the Skinners. *The Ascension*, by the Taylors. *The Election of S. Mathias, sending of the Holy Ghost, &c.* by the Fishmongers. *Antichrist*, by the Clothiers. *Day of Judgment*, by the Websters. The reader will perhaps smile at some of these combinations. This is the substance and order of the former part of the play. God enters creating the world; he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradise, and opens his side while sleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked, and *not ashamed*, and the old serpent enters lamenting his fall. He converses with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit, and gives part to Adam. They propose, according to the stage-direction, to make themselves *subligacula a foliis quibus tegamus pudenda*. Cover their nakedness with leaves, and converse with God. God's curse. The serpent *exit* hissing. They are driven from Paradise by four angels and the cherubim with a flaming sword. Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve spinning. Their children Cain and Abel enter: the former kills his brother. Adam's lamentation. Cain is banished,” &c. Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 243.

Mr. Warton observes in a note in his second volume, p. 180, that “if it be true that these *Mysteries* were composed in the year 1328, and there was so much difficulty in obtaining the Pope's permission that they might be presented in English, a presumptive proof arises, that all our *Mysteries* before that period were in Latin. These plays will therefore have the merit of being the first English interludes.”

Polydore Virgil mentions in his book *de Rerum Inventoribus*, Lib. V. c. ii. that the Mysteries were in his time in English. “Solemus vel more priscorum spectacula edere populo, ut ludos, venationes,—recitare comædias, item in templis vitas divorum ac martyria repræsentare, in quibus, ut cunctis, par sit voluptas, qui recitant, vernaculam linguam tantum usurpant.” The first three books of Polydore's work were published in 1499; in 1517, at which time he was in England, he added five more.

tota familia sua." Then the ALMIGHTY, after expatiating on the fins of mankind, is made to say:

" Man that I made I will destroye,
 " Beast, worme, and fowle to fley,
 " For one earth the doe me nye,
 " The folke that are herone.
 " It harmes me fore hartefully
 " The malice that doth nowe multiplye,
 " That fore it greeves me inwardlie
 " That ever I made man.
 " Therefore, Noe, my servant free,
 " That righteous man arte, as I see,
 " A shipp soone thou shalt make thee
 " Of trees drye and lighte.
 " Litill chambers therein thou make,
 " And byndinge pytche also thou take,
 " Within and without ney thou flake,
 " To anoynte yt through all thy mighte," &c.

After some dialogue between Noah, Sem, Ham, Japhet, and their wives, we find the following stage direction: " Then Noe with all his family shall make a signe as though the wrought uppon the shippe with divers instruments, and after that God shall speake to Noe :

" Noe, take thou thy meanye,
 " And in the shipp hie that ye be,
 " For non so righteous man to me
 " Is nowe on earth livinge.
 " Of clean beastes with the thou take
 " Seven and seven, or thou flake,
 " He and she, make to make,
 " By live in that thou bring," &c.

" Then Noe shall go into the arke with all his familye, his wife excepte. The arke must be boarded round aboute, and uppon the bordes all the beastes and fowles hereafter rehearsed must be

painted, that there wordes maye agree with the pictures."

" *Sem.* Sier, here are lions, libardes, in,
 " Horfes, mares, oxen and fwyne,
 " Neates, calves, sheepe and kyne,
 " Here sitten thou maye see," &c.

After all the beasts and fowls have been described, Noah thus addressses his wife :

" *Noe.* Wife, come in, why standes thou there ?
 " Thou art ever froward, that dare I fwere,
 " Come in on Godes halfe ; tyme it were,
 " For fear left that wee drowne."

" *Wife.* Yea, fir, fet up your faile,
 " And rowe forth with evil haile,
 " For withouten anie faile
 " I will not oute of this toune ;
 " But I have my gossopes everich one,
 " One foote further I will not gone :
 " They shal not drown by St. John,
 " And I may save ther life.
 " They loved me full well by Chrif ;
 " But thou will let them in thie chift,
 " Ellis rowe forth, Noe, when thou list,
 " And get thee a newe wife."

At length Sem and his brethren put her on board by force, and on Noah's welcoming her, " Welcome, wife, into this boate," she gives him a box on the ear : adding, " Take thou that for thy note."²

Many licentious pleasantries, as Mr. Warton has observed, were sometimes introduced in these reli-

² It is obvious, that the transcriber of these ancient Mysteries, which appear to have been written in 1328, represents them as they were exhibited at Chester in 1600, and that he has not adhered to the original orthography.

gious representations. “ This might imperceptibly lead the way to subjects entirely profane, and to comedy ; and perhaps earlier than is imagined. In a Mystery of *The Massacre of the Holy Innocents*,³ part of the subject of a sacred drama given by the English fathers at the famous Council of Constance, in the year 1417, a low buffoon of Herod’s court is introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to go on the adventure of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical business is treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, break his head with their distaffs, abuse him as a coward and a disgrace to chivalry, and send him to Herod as a recreant champion with much ignominy.—It is certain that our ancestors intended no sort of impiety by these monstrous and unnatural mixtures. Neither the writers nor the spectators saw the impropriety, nor paid a separate attention to the comick and the serious part of these motley scenes ; at least they were persuaded that the solemnity of the subject covered or excused all incongruities. They had no just idea of decorum, consequently but little sense of the ridiculous : what appears to us to be the highest burlesque, on them would have made no sort of impression. We must not wonder at this, in an age when courage, devotion, and ignorance, composed the character of European manners ; when the knight going to a tournament, first invoked his God, then his mistress, and afterwards proceeded with a safe conscience and great resolution to engage his antagonist. In these Mysteries I have sometimes seen

³ MSS. Digby 134, Bibl. Bodl.

gross and open obscenities. In a play of *The Old and New Testament*, Adam and Eve are both exhibited on the stage naked,⁴ and conversing about their nakedness; this very pertinently introduces the next scene; in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure: they had the authority of scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of *Genesis*. It would have been absolute heresy to have departed from the sacred text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity; and if this had not been the case, the dramatists were ignorant what to reject and what to retain.”⁵

“ I must not omit,” adds Mr. Warton,⁶ “ an anecdote entirely new, with regard to the mode of playing the *Mysteries* at this period, [the latter part of the fifteenth century,] which yet is perhaps of much higher antiquity. In the year 1487, while Henry the Seventh kept his residence at the castle of Winchester, on occasion of the birth of prince Arthur, on a Sunday, during the time of dinner, he was entertained with a religious drama called *Christi Descensus ad inferos*, or *Christ's Descent into Hell*. It was represented by the *Pueri Eleemosynarii*, or choir-boys, of Hyde Abbey, and Saint Swithin's

⁴ This kind of primitive exhibition was revived in the time of King James the First, several persons appearing almost entirely naked in a pastoral exhibited at Oxford before the King and Queen, and the ladies who attended her. It is, if I recollect right, described by Winwood.

⁵ Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I. pp. 242, *et seq.*

⁶ *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 206.

Priory, two large monasteries at Winchester. This is the only proof I have ever seen of choir-boys acting the old *Mysteries*: nor do I recollect any other instance of a royal dinner, even on a festival, accompanied with this species of diversion.⁷ The story of this interlude, in which the chief characters were Christ, Adam, Eve, Abraham, and John the Baptist, was not uncommon in the ancient religious drama, and I believe made a part of what is called the LUDUS PASCHALIS, or *Easter Play*. It occurs in the Coventry Plays acted on Corpus Christi day,⁸

⁷ “ Except, that on the first Sunday of the magnificent marriage of King James of Scotland with the princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry the Seventh, celebrated at Edinburgh with high splendour, ‘after dynnar a MORALITE was played by the said Master Inglyshe and his companions in the presence of the kyng and qweene.’ On one of the preceding days, ‘after soupper the kynge and qweene beyng togader in hyr grett chamber, John Inglysh and hys companions *plaid*.’ This was in the year 1503. Apud. Leland, Coll. iii. p. 300. Append. edit. 1770.”

⁸ See an account of the Coventry Plays in Stevens's *Monasticon*, Vol. I. p. 238. “ Sir W. Dugdale, speaking of the Grayfriars or Franciscans at Coventry, says, before the suppression of monasteries this city was very famous for the pageants that were played therein upon Corpus-Christi day; which pageants being acted with mighty state and reverence by the friers of this house, had theatres for the several scenes, very large and high, placed upon wheeles, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city, for the better advantage of the spectators.—An ancient manuscript of the same is now to be seen in the Cottonian Library, sub. effig. Vesp. D. 8. Sir William cites this manuscript by the title of *Ludus Coventriæ*; but in the printed catalogue of that library, p. 113, it is named thus: A collection of plays in old English metre; h. e. *Dramata sacra, in quibus exhibentur historiæ Veteris & N. Testamenti, introductis quasi in scenam personis illic memoratis, quas secum invicem colloquentes pro ingenio fingit poeta. Videntur olim coram populo, sive ad instruendum, sive ad placendum, a fratribus mendicantibus repræsentata.* It appears by the latter end of the prologue, that these

and in the Whitfun-plays at Chester, where it is called the HARROWING OF HELL. The representa-

plays or interludes were not only played at Coventry, but in other towns and places upon occasion. And possibly this may be the same play which Stow tells us was played in the reign of Henry IV. which lasted for eight days. The book seems by the character and language to be at least 300 years old. It begins with a general prologue, giving the arguments of forty pageants or gesticulations, (which were as so many several acts or scenes,) representing all the histories of both testaments, from the creation to the choosing of St. *Mathias* to be an apostle. The stories of the New Testament are more largely expressed, viz. The Annunciation, Nativity, Visitation; but more especially all matters relating to the Passion very particularly, the Resurrection, Ascension, the choice of St. *Mathias*: after which is also represented the Assumption, and last Judgment. All these things were treated of in a very homely style, as we now think, infinitely below the dignity of the subject: But it seems the gust of that age was not nice and delicate in these matters; the plain and incurious judgment of our ancestors, being prepared with favour, and taking every thing by the right and easiest handle: For example, in the scene relating to the Visitation:

‘ *Maria*. But husband of on thyng pray you most mekeley,
 ‘ I have knowing that our cosyn Eltzabeth with childe is,
 ‘ That it please yow to go to her hastyly,
 ‘ If ought we myth comfort her, it wer to me blys.

‘ *Joseph*. A Gods sake, is she with child, sche?
 ‘ Than will her husband Zachary be mery.
 ‘ In Montana they dwelle, fer hence, so mory the,
 ‘ In the city of Juda, I know it verily;
 ‘ It is hence, I trowe, myles two a fifty;
 ‘ We are like to be wery or we come at the same.
 ‘ I wole with a good will, bleffyd wyff Mary;
 ‘ Now go we forth then in Goddys name,’ &c.

A little before the resurrection.

‘ *Nunc dormient milites, & veniet anima Christi de inferno,*
cum Adam & Eva, Abraham, John Baptist, et aliis.

‘ *Anima Christi*. Come forth, Adam, and Eve with the,
 ‘ And all my fryndes that herein be,
 ‘ In paradys come forth with me
 ‘ In blyffe for to dwelle.

tion is, Christ entering hell triumphantly, delivering our first parents, and the most sacred characters of the old and new testaments, from the dominion of Satan, and conveying them into paradise.—The composers of the Mysteries did not think the plain and probable events of the new testament sufficiently marvellous for an audience who wanted only to be surprised. They frequently selected their materials from books which had more of the air of romance. The subject of the Mysteries just mentioned was borrowed from the *Pseudo-Evangelium*, or the *fabulous Gospel*, ascribed to Nicodemus: a book, which together with the numerous apocryphal narratives, containing infinite innovations of the evangelical history, and forged at Constantinople by the early writers of the Greek church, gave birth to an endless variety of legends concerning the life of Christ and his apostles; and which, in the barbarous ages, was better esteemed than the genuine gospel, on account of its improbabilities and absurdities.”

‘ The fende of hell that is yowr foo,
 ‘ He shall be wrappyd and woundyn in woo :
 ‘ Fro wo to welth now shall ye go,
 ‘ With myrth ever mor to melle.

‘ *Adam*. I thank, the, Lord, of thy grete grace,
 ‘ That now is forgiven my gret trespase,
 ‘ Now shall we dwellyn in blyssful place,’ &c.

“ The last scene or pageant, which represents the day of Judgement, begins thus :

‘ *Michael*. Surgite, All men aryse,
 ‘ *Venite ad Judicium* ;
 ‘ For now is set the High Justice,
 ‘ And hath assignyd the day of dome ;
 ‘ Kepe you readyly to this grett assyse,
 ‘ Both gret and small, all and sum,
 ‘ And of your answer you now advise,
 ‘ What you shall say when that yow com,” &c.

Historia Histrionica, 8vo. 1699, pp. 15, 17, 18, 19.

“ But whatsoever was the source of these exhibitions, they were thought to contribute so much to the information and instruction of the people on the most important subjects of religion, that one of the popes granted a pardon of one thousand days to every person who resorted peaceably to the plays performed in the Whitsun week at Chester, beginning with the creation, and ending with the general judgement; and this indulgence was seconded by the bishop of the diocese, who granted forty days of pardon: the pope at the same time denouncing the sentence of damnation on all those incorrigible sinners who presumed to interrupt the due celebration of these pious sports.⁹ It is certain that they had their use, not only in teaching the great truths of scripture to men who could not read the Bible, but in abolishing the barbarous attachment to military games, and the bloody contentions of the tournament, which had so long prevailed as the sole species of popular amusement. Rude and even ridiculous as they were, they softened the manners of the people, by diverting the public attention to spectacles in which the mind was concerned, and by creating a regard for other arts than those of bodily strength and savage valour.”

I may add, that these representations were so far from being considered as indecent or profane, that even a supreme pontiff, Pope Pius the Second, about the year 1416, composed and caused to be acted before him on Corpus Christi day, a Mystery, in which was represented the *court of the king of heaven*.¹

⁹ MSS. Harl. 2124, 2013.

¹ *Histrionastix*, 4to. 1633, p. 112.

These religious dramas were usually represented on holy festivals in or near churches. "In several of our old scriptural plays," says Mr. Warton, "we see some of the scenes directed to be represented *cum cantu et organis*, a common rubrick in a missal. That is, because they were performed in a church where the choir assisted. There is a curious passage in Lambarde's *Topographical Dictionary*,² written about the year 1570, much to our purpose, which I am therefore tempted to transcribe. 'In the dayes of ceremonial religion, they used at Wytney (in Oxfordshire) to set fourthe yearly in maner of a shew or interlude, the resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purposes, and the more lyvely heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the resurrection, the priestes garnished out certain small puppettes, representing the persons of Christ, the Watchman, Marie, and others; amongst the which, one bore the parte of a waking watchman, who espiinge Christe to arise, made a continuall noyce, like to the sound that is caused by the metynge of two stickes, and was therefore commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like toye I myself, beinge then a childe, once saw in Powles Church, at London, at a feast of Whitsuntide; wheare the comynge downe of the Holy Ghost was set forthe by a white pigeon, that was let to fly out of a hole that yet is to be sene in the mydst of the roofe of the great ile, and by a longe censer³ which descendinge out of the same place

² P. 459, edit. 1730, 4to.

³ This may serve to explain a very extraordinary passage in Stowe's *Annales*, p. 690, edit. 1605: "And on the morrowe hee [King Edward the Fourth] went crowned in Paul's church in London, in the honor of God and S. Paule, and there an *Angell came downe, and censured him.*"

almost to the verie grounde, was swunged up and downe at such a lengthe, that it reached with thone sweepe, almost to the west-gate of the church, and with the other to the quyre staires of the same; breathing out over the whole church and companie a most pleasant perfume of such swete thinges as burned therein. With the like doome-shews they used everie where to furnish sondrye parts of their church service, as by their spectacles of the nativitie, passion, and ascension,"⁴ &c.

In a preceding passage Mr. Warton has mentioned that the singing boys of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester, performed a Mystery before King Henry the Seventh in 1487; adding, that this is the only instance he has met with of choir-boys performing in Mysteries; but it appears from the accompts of various monasteries that this was a very ancient practice, probably coeval with the earliest attempts at dramatick representations. In the year 1378, the scholars, or choristers of Saint Paul's cathedral, presented a petition to King Richard the Second, praying his Majesty to prohibit some ignorant and unexperienced persons from acting the HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended considerable sums for a publick presentation of that play at the ensuing Christmas. About twelve years afterwards, the Parish Clerks of London, as Stowe informs us, performed spiritual plays at Skinner's Well for three days successively, in the presence of the King, Queen, and nobles of the realm. And in 1409, the tenth year of King Henry IV. they acted at Clerken-

⁴ Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 240.

well for eight days successively a play, which “ was matter from the creation of the world,” and probably concluded with the day of judgment, in the presence of most of the nobility and gentry of England.⁵

We are indebted to Mr. Warton for some curious circumstances relative to these Miracle-plays, which “ appear in a roll of the Churchwardens of Bassingborne, in Cambridgeshire, which is an accompt of the expences and receptions for acting the play of SAINT GEORGE at Bassingborne, on the feast of Saint Margaret, in the year 1511. They collected upwards of four pounds in twenty-seven neighbouring parishes for furnishing the play. They disbursed about two pounds in the representation. These disbursements are to four minstrels, or waits, of Cambridge, for three days, vs. vjd. To the players, in bread and ale, iijs. ijd. To the *garment-man* for *garnements* and *propyrts*,⁶ that is, for

⁵ Probably either the Chester or Coventry Mysteries. “ In the ignorant ages, the Parish-clerks of London might justly be considered as a literary society. It was an essential part of their profession not only to sing, but to read ; an accomplishment almost wholly confined to the clergy ; and, on the whole, they seem to come under the character of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild or fellowship by King Henry the Third about the year 1240, under the patronage of Saint Nicholas.—Their profession, employment, and character, naturally dictated to this spiritual brotherhood the representation of plays, especially those of the scriptural kind : and their constant practice in shews, processions, and vocal musick, easily accounts for their address in detaining the best company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce, for more than one week.” Warton’s *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 396.

⁶ “ The property-room,” as Mr. Warton has observed, “ is yet known at our theatres.”

The following list of the properties used in a Mystery formed

dressés, decorations, and implements, and for play-books, xxs. To John Hobard, *brotherhoode preefte*, that is, a priest of the guild in the church, for the *play-book*, ijs. viiid. For the *crofte*, or field in which the play was exhibited, js. For *propyrte-making*, or furniture, js. ivd. For fish and bread, and to setting up the stages, ivd. For painting three *fanchoms* and four *tormenters*, words which I do not understand, but perhaps *fantoms* and devils - - - -. The rest was expended for a feast on the occasion, in which are recited ‘Four chicken for the gentlemen, ivd.’ It appears by the manuscript of the Coventry plays, that a temporary scaffold only was erected for these performances.”⁷

In the ancient religious plays the Devil was very frequently introduced. He was usually represented with horns, a very wide mouth, (by means of a mask,) staring eyes, a large nose, a red beard, cloven feet, and a tail. His constant attendant was the

on the story of Tobit in the Old Testament, which was exhibited in the Broad-gate, Lincoln, in July 1563, (6 Eliz.) appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1787:

“*Lying at Mr. Norton's house in tenure of William Smart.*

“First Hell-mouth, with a nether chap. *Item*, A prison, with a covering. *It*. Sarah's chamber.”

“*Remaining in St. Swithin's church.*

“*It*. A great Idol. *It*. A tomb with a covering. *It*. The cyty of Jerusalem with towers and pinacles. *It*. The cyty of Rages, with towers and pinacles. *It*. The city of Nineveh. *It*. The kings palace of Nineveh. *It*. Old Tobyes house. *It*. The kyngs palace at Laches. *It*. A firmament with a firy cloud, and a double cloud, *in the custody of* Thomas Fulbeck, *Alderman.*”

⁷ *History of English Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 326. “Strype, under the year 1559, says, that after a grand feast at Guildhall, ‘the same day was a scaffold set up in the hall for a play.’ Ann. Ref. I. 197, edit. 1725.

Vice, (the buffoon of the piece,) whose principal employment was to belabour the Devil with his wooden dagger, and to make him roar for the entertainment of the populace.⁸

As the *Mysteries* or *Miracle-plays* “ frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters, such as Charity, Sin, Death, Hope, Faith, or the like, and as the common poetry of the times, especially among the French, began to deal much in allegory, at length plays were formed entirely consisting of such personifications. These were called MORALITIES. The *Miracle-plays* or MYSTERIES were totally destitute of invention and plan: they tamely represented stories, according to the letter of the scripture, or the respective legend. But the MORALITIES indicate dawnings of the dramatick art: they contain some rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. From hence the gradual transition to real historical personages was natural and obvious.”⁹

Dr. Percy, in his Account of the English Stage, has given an Analysis of two ancient Moralities, entitled *Every Man*, and *Lusty Juventus*, from which a perfect notion of this kind of drama may be obtained. *Every Man* was written in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and *Lusty Juventus* in that

⁸ “ It was a pretty part in the old church-playes,” says Bishop Harsenet, “ when the nimble Vice would skip up nimbly like a Jack-an-apes into the Devil’s necke, and ride the devil a course, and belabour him with his wooden dagger, till he made him roar, whereat the people would laugh to see the Devil so Vice-haunted.” Harsenet’s *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, &c. 4to. 1603.

⁹ Warton’s *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 242. Percy’s *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 128.

of King Edward the Sixth. As Dr. Percy's curious and valuable collection of ancient English Poetry is in the hands of every scholar, I shall content myself with merely referring to it. Many other Moralities are yet extant, of some of which I shall give titles below.¹ Of one, which is not now extant, we have a curious account in a book entitled, *Mount Tabor, or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner*, by R. W. [R. Willis] Esqr. published in the year of his age 75, Anno Domini, 1639; an extract from which will give the reader a more accurate notion of the old Moralities than a long dissertation on the subject.

“UPON A STAGE-PLAY WHICH I SAW WHEN
I WAS A CHILD.

“In the city of Gloucester the manner is, (as I think it is in other like corporations,) that when players of enterludes come to towne, they first attend the Mayor, to enforme him what noble-mans servants they are, and so to get licence for their publike playing; and if the Mayor like the actors, or would shew respect to their lord and master, he appoints them to play their first play before himself, and the Alderman and Common-Counsell of the city; and that is called *the Mayor's*

¹ *Magnificence*, written by John Skelton; *Impatient Poverty*, 1560; *The Life and Repentance of Marie Magdalene*, 1567; *The Trial of Treasure*, 1567; *The Nice Wanton*, 1568; *The Disobedient Child*, no date; *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, 1570; *The Interlude of Youth*, no date; *The longer thou livest, the more Fool thou art*, no date; *The Interlude of Wealth and Health*, no date; *All for Money*, 1578; *The Conflict of Conscience*, 1581; *The Three Ladies of London*, 1584; *The Three Lords of London*, 1590; *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, &c.

play : where every one that will, comes in without money, the Mayor giving the players a reward as hee thinks fit to shew respect unto them. At such a play, my father tooke me with him and made me stand between his leggs, as he sat upon one of the benches, where we saw and heard very well. The play was called *The Cradle of Security*,² wherein was personated a king or some great prince, with his courtiers of several kinds, among which three ladies were in special grace with him ; and they keeping him in delights and pleasures, drew him from his graver counsellors, hearing of sermons, and listening to good counsell and admonitions, that in the end they got him to lye down in a cradle upon the stage, where these three ladies joyning in a sweet song, rocked him asleepe, that he snorted againe ; and in the mean time closely conveyed under the cloaths wherewithall he was covered, a vizard, like a swines snout, upon his face, with three wire chains fastened thereunto, the other end whereof being holden severally by those three ladies ; who fall to singing againe, and then discovered his face that the spectators might see how they had transformed him, going on with their singing. Whilst all this was acting, there came forth of another doore at the farthest end of the stage, two old men ; the one in blew, with a serjeant at armes his mace on his shoulder ; the other in red, with a drawn sword in his hand, and leaning with the other hand upon the others shoulder ; and so they went along with a soft pace round about by the skirt of the stage, till at last they

² *The Cradle of Securitie* is mentioned with several other Moralities, in a play which has not been printed, entitled *Sir Thomas More*, MSS. Harl. 3768.

came to the cradle, when all the court was in the greatest jollity; and then the foremost old man with his mace stroke a fearfull blow upon the cradle; wherewith all the courtiers, with the three ladies, and the vizard, all vanished; and the desolate prince starting up bare-faced, and finding himself thus sent for to judgement, made a lamentable complaint of his miserable case, and so was carried away by wicked spirits. This prince did personate in the Morall, the wicked of the world; the three ladies, Pride, Covetousness, and Luxury; the two old men, the end of the world, and the last judgement. This sight took such impression in me, that when I came towards mans estate, it was as fresh in my memory, as if I had seen it newly acted.”³

The writer of this book appears to have been born in the same year with our great poet (1564). Supposing him to have been seven or eight years old when he saw this interlude, the exhibition must have been in 1571 or 1572.

I am unable to ascertain when the first Morality appeared, but incline to think not sooner than the reign of King Edward the Fourth (1460). The publick pageants of the reign of King Henry the Sixth were uncommonly splendid;⁴ and being then first enlivened by the introduction of speaking allegorical personages properly and characteristically habited, they naturally led the way to those personifications by which Moralities were distinguished from the simpler religious dramas called

³ *Mount Tabor*, &c. 8vo. 1659. pp. 110, *et seq.* With this curious extract I was favoured, several years ago, by the Rev. Mr. Bowle of Idmiston near Salisbury.

⁴ See Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 199.

Mysteries. We must not, however, suppose, that, after Moralities were introduced, Mysteries ceased to be exhibited. We have already seen that a Mystery was represented before King Henry the Seventh, at Winchester, in 1487. Sixteen years afterwards, on the first Sunday after the marriage of his daughter with King James of Scotland, a Morality was performed.⁵ In the early part of the

⁵ Sir James Ware, in his *Annales*, folio, 1664, after having given an account of the statute, 33 Henry VIII. c. i. by which Henry was declared King of Ireland, and Ireland made a kingdom, informs us, that the new law was proclaimed in St. Patrick's church, in the presence of the Lord Deputy St. Leger, and a great number of Peers, who attended in their parliament robes. "It is needless," he adds, "to mention the feasts, comedies, and sports which followed." "*Epulas, comœdias, et certamina ludicra, quæ sequebantur, quid attinet dicere?*" The mention of comedies might lead us to suppose that our sister kingdom had gone before us in the cultivation of the drama; but I find from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, that what are here called comedies, were nothing more than pageants. "In the parliament of 1541," says the author of the memoir, "wherein Henry VIII. was declared king of Ireland, there were present the earls of Ormond and Desmond, the lord Barry, M'Gilla Phædrig, chieftaine of Offory, the son of O'Bryan, M'Carthy More, with many Irish lords; and on Corpus Christi day they rode about the streets in their parliament-ropes, and the NINE WORTHIES was played, and the Mayor bore the mace before the deputy on horseback."

Two of Bale's Mysteries, *God's Promises*, and *St. John Baptist*, we have been lately told, were acted by young men at the market-cross in Kilkenny, on a Sunday, in the year 1552. See Walker's *Essay on the Irish Stage*, 4to. 1789, and *Collect. de Rebus Hiber.* Vol. II. p. 388: but there is a slight error in the date. Bale has himself informed us, that he was consecrated Bishop of Offory, February 2, 1552-3, (not on the 25th of March, as the writer of Bale's Life in *Biographia Britannica* asserts,) and that he soon afterwards went to his palace in Kilkenny. These Mysteries were exhibited there on the 20th of August, 1553, the day on which Queen Mary was proclaimed, as appears from his own account: "On the xx daye of August was the ladye Marye with us at Kilkennye proclaimed Quene of England, &c.—The yonge men in the forenone played a tragedy

reign of King Henry the Eighth, they were perhaps performed indiscriminately; but Mysteries were probably seldom represented after the statute

of *Gods Promises in the old Lawe*, at the market-crosse, with organe-plainges and songes, very aptely. In the afternone agayne they played a comedie of *Sanct Johan Baptistes* preachinges, of Christes baptisynge, and of his temptacion in the wildernesse, to the small contentacion of the prestes and other papistes there." *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale*, 16mo. no date, sign. C 8.

The only theatre in Dublin in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was a booth (if it may be called a theatre) erected in Hoggin Green, now College Green, where Mysteries and Moralities were occasionally performed. It is strange, that so lately as in the year 1600, at a time when many of Shakspeare's plays had been exhibited in England, and Lord Montjoy, the intimate friend of his patrons Lord Effex and Lord Southampton, was Deputy of Ireland, the old play of *Gorboduck*, written in the infancy of the stage, (for this piece had been originally presented in 1562, under the name of *Ferrex and Porrex*,) should have been performed at the Castle of Dublin: but such is the fact, if we may believe Chetwood the prompter, who mentions that old Mr. Ashbury had seen a bill dated the 7th of September, 1601, (Queen Elizabeth's birth-day,) "*for wax tapers for the play of Gorboduck done at the Castle, one and twenty shillings and two groats.*" Whether any plays were represented in Dublin in the reign of James the First, I am unable to ascertain. Barnaby Riche, who has given a curious account of Dublin in the year 1610, makes no mention of any theatrical exhibition. In 1635, when Lord Strafford was Lord Lieutenant, a theatre, probably under his patronage, was built in Werbergh Street; which, under the conduct of the well-known John Ogilby, Master of the Revels in Ireland, continued open till October, 1641, when it was shut up by order of the Lords Justices. At this theatre, Shirley's *Royal Master* was originally represented in 1639, and Burnel's *Landgartha* in 1641. In 1662 Ogilby was restored to his office, and a new theatre was erected in Orange Street, (since called Smock Alley,) part of which fell down in the year 1671. *Agrippa, King of Alba*, a tragedy translated from the French of Quinault, was acted there before the Duke of Ormond, in 1675; and it continued open, I believe, till the death of King Charles the Second. The disturbances which followed in Ireland put an end for a time to all theatrical entertainments.

34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 1, which was made, as the preamble informs us, with a view that the kingdom should be purged and cleansed of all *religious plays, interludes, rhymes, ballads, and songs*, which are equally *pestiferous* and *noysome* to the commonweal. At this time both Moralities and Mysteries were made the vehicle of religious controversy; Bale's *Comedy of the three Laws of Nature*, printed in 1538, (which in fact is a Mystery,) being a disguised satire against popery; as the Morality of *Lusty Juventus* was written expressly with the same view in the reign of King Edward the Sixth.⁶ In that of his successor Queen Mary, Mysteries were again revived, as appendages to the papistical worship. "In the year 1556," says Mr. Warton, "*a goodly stage-play of the Passion of Christ* was presented at the Grey-friars in London, on Corpus-Christi day, before the Lord-Mayor, the Privy-council, and many great estates of the realm. Strype also mentions, under the year 1577, a stage-play at the Grey-friers, of the Passion of Christ, on the day that war was proclaimed in London against France, and in honour of that occasion. On Saint Olave's day in the same year,

⁶ "This mode of attack" (as Mr. Warton has observed) "was seldom returned by the opposite party: the catholick worship founded on sensible representations afforded a much better hold for ridicule, than the religion of some of the sects of the reformers, which was of a more simple and spiritual nature." *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 378, n. The interlude, however, called *Every Man*, which was written in defence of the church of Rome, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, is an exception. It appears also from a proclamation promulgated early in the reign of his son, of which mention will be made hereafter, that the favourers of popery about that time had levelled several dramattick invectives against Archbishop Cranmer, and the doctrines of the reformers.

the holiday of the church in Silver-street, which is dedicated to that faint, was kept with great solemnity. At eight of the clock at night, began a stage-play of *goodly matter*, being the miraculous history of the life of that faint, which continued four hours, and concluded with many religious songs.”⁷ No Mysteries, I believe, were represented during the reign of Elizabeth, except such as were occasionally performed by those who were favourers of the popish religion,⁸ and those already mentioned, known by the name of the Chester Mysteries, which had been originally composed in 1328, were revived in the time of King Henry the Eighth, (1533,) and again performed at Chester in the year 1600. The last Mystery, I believe, ever represented in England, was that of *Christ's Passion*, in the reign of King James the First, which Prynne tells us was “performed at Elie-House in Holborne, when Gundomar lay there, on Good-friday at night, at which there were thousands present.”⁹

In France the representation of Mysteries was forbid in the year 1548, when the fraternity associated under the name of *The Actors of our Saviour's Passion*, who had received letters patent from King

⁷ *History of English Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 326.

⁸ That Mysteries were occasionally represented in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, appears from the assertions of the controversial writers. “They play” says one of them, “and counterfeite the whole Passion so trimly, with all the seven sorrowes of our lady, as though it had been nothing else but a simple and plain enterlude, to make boys laugh at, and a little to recreate sorowful harts.” *Beehive of the Romishe Churche*, 1580, p. 207. See also *supra*, p. 24, n. 6.

⁹ *Histrionastix*, quarto, 1633, p. 117, n.

Charles the Sixth, in 1402, and had for near 150 years exhibited religious plays, built their new theatre on the site of the Duke of Burgundy's house; and were authoris'd by an arret of parliament to act, on condition that "they should meddle with none but profane subjects, such as are lawful and honest, and not represent any sacred Mysteries."¹ Representations founded on holy writ continued to be exhibited in Italy till the year 1660, and the Mystery of *Christ's Passion* was represented at Vienna so lately as the early part of the present century.

Having thus occasionally mentioned foreign theatres, I take this opportunity to observe, that the stages of France so lately as in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign were entirely unfurnished with scenery or any kind of decoration, and that the performers at that time remained on the stage the whole time of the exhibition; in which mode perhaps our Mysteries in England were represented. For this information we are indebted to the elder Scaliger, in whose *Poeticks* is the following curious passage: "*Nunc in Gallia ita agunt fabulas, ut omnia in conspectu sint; UNIVERSUS APPARATUS dispositis sublimibus sedibus. Personæ ipsæ nunquam discedunt: qui silent pro absentibus habentur. At enimvero perridiculum, ibi spectatorem videre te audire, et te videre teipsum non audire quæ alius coram te de te loquatur; quasi ibi non sis, ubi es: cum tamen maxima poetæ vis sit, suspendere animos, atque eos facere semper expectantes. At hic tibi novum fit nihil; ut prius satietas subrepat, quam obrepat fames. Itaque recte objecit Æschylo*

¹ Riccoboni's *Account of the Theatres of Europe*, 8vo. 1741, p. 124.

Euripides apud Aristophanem in *Ranis*, quod Niobem et Achillem in scenam introduxisset capite co-operto; neque nunquam ullum verbum qui sint loquuti.”² That is, “At present in France [about the year 1556] plays are represented in such a manner, that nothing is withdrawn from the view of the spectator. The whole apparatus of the theatre consists of some high seats ranged in proper order. The persons of the scene never depart during the representation: he who ceases to speak, is considered as if he were no longer on the stage. But in truth it is extremely ridiculous, that the spectator should see the actor listening, and yet he himself should not hear what one of his fellow-actors says concerning him, though in his own presence and within his hearing: as if he were absent, while he is present. It is the great object of the dramatick poet to keep the mind in a constant state of suspense and expectation. But in our theatres, there can be no novelty, no surprise:

² Jul. Cæs. Scaligeri *Poetices Libri Septem*. Folio, 1561, Lib. I. c. xxi. Julius Cæsar Scaliger died at Agen, in the province of Guienne in France, on the 21st of October, 1558, in the 75th year of his age. He wrote his *Poeticks* in that town a few years before his death.

Riccoboni gives us the same account in his *History of the French Theatre*. “In the representations of the Mysteries, the theatre represented paradise, heaven, hell, and earth, and all at once; and though the action varied, there was no change of the decorations. After an actor had performed his part, he did not go off the stage, but retired to a corner of it, and sat there in full view of all the spectators.” *Historical and Critical Account of the Theatres of Europe*, 8vo. 1741, p. 118. We shall presently see, that at a much later period, and long after the Mysteries had ceased to be exhibited, “though the action changed, there was no change of decoration,” either in France or England.

inſomuch that the ſpectator is more likely to be ſatiated with what he has already ſeen, than to have any appetite for what is to come. Upon this ground it was, that Euripides objected to Æſchylus, in *The Frogs* of Ariſtophanes, for having introduced Niobe and Achilles as mutes upon the ſcene, with a covering which entirely concealed their heads from the ſpectators."

Another practice, equally extraordinary, is mentioned by Bulenger in his treatiſe on the Grecian and Roman theatres. In his time, ſo late as in the year 1600, all the actors employed in a dramatick piece came on the ſtage in a troop, before the play began, and preſented themſelves to the ſpectators, in order, ſays he, to raiſe the expectation of the audience. "*Putem tamen (quod hodieque fit) omnes actores antequam ſinguli agerent, conſeſſim et in turba in proſcenium prodiſſe, ut ſui expectationem commoverent.*"³ I know not whether this was ever practiſed in England. Inſtead of raiſing, it ſhould ſeem more likely to reſreſs, expectation. I ſuppoſe, however, this writer conceived the audience would be animated by the *number* of the characters, and that this diſplay would operate on the gaping ſpectators like ſome of our modern enormous play-bills; in which the length of the ſhow ſometimes conſtitutes the principal merit of the entertainment.

Mr. Warton obſerves that Moralities were become ſo fashionable a ſpectacle about the cloſe of the reign of Henry the Seventh, that "John Raſtall, a learned typographer, brother-in-law to Sir Thomas More, extended its province, which had been hitherto confined either to moral allegory, or to re-

³ Bulengeri de *Theatro*, 8vo. 1600, Lib. I. p. 60, b.

ligion blended with buffoonery, and conceived a design of making it the vehicle of science and philosophy. With this view he published *A new INTERLUDE and a mery, of the nature of the iiij Elements, declaring many proper points of philosophy naturall, and dyvers straunge landys, &c.* In the cosmographical part of the play, in which the poet professes to treat of *dyvers straunge landys, and of the new-found landys*, the tracts of America recently discovered, and the manners of the natives are described. The characters are, a Messenger, who speaks the prologue, Nature, Humanity, Studious Desire, Sensual Appetite, a Taverner, Experience, and Ignorance.”⁴

As it is uncertain at what period of time the ancient Mysteries ceased to be represented as an ordinary spectacle for the amusement of the people, and Moralities were substituted in their room, it is equally difficult to ascertain the precise time when the latter gave way to a more legitimate theatrical exhibition. We know that Moralities were exhibited *occasionally* during the whole of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and even in that of her successor, long after regular dramas had been presented on the scene ;⁵ but I suspect that about the

⁴ *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 364. “ Dr. Percy supposes this play to have been written about the year 1510, from the following lines :

‘ ——— Within this xx yere
 ‘ Westwarde he found new landes
 ‘ That we never harde tell of before this.’

The West Indies were discovered by Columbus in 1492.” *Ibid.*

⁵ The licence granted in 1603 to Shakspeare and his fellow-comedians, authorises them to play comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, *morals*, pastorals, &c. See also *The Guls*

year 1570 (the 13th year of Queen Elizabeth) this species of drama began to lose much of its attraction, and gave way to something that had more the appearance of comedy and tragedy. *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, which was written by Mr. Still, (afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells,) in the 23d year of his age, and acted at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1566, is pointed out by the ingenious writer of the tract entitled *Historia Histrionica*, as the first piece "that looks like a regular comedy;" that is, the first play that was neither Mystery nor Morality, and in which some humour and discrimination of character may be found. In 1561-2, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, and Thomas Norton, joined in writing the tragedy of *Ferrex and Porrex*, which was exhibited on the 18th of January in that year, by the Students of the Inner Temple, before Queen Elizabeth, at Whitehall. Neither of these pieces appears to have been acted on a publick theatre, nor was there at that time any building in London constructed solely for the purpose of representing plays. Of the latter piece, which, as Mr. Warton has observed, is perhaps "the first specimen in our language of an heroick tale written in verse, and divided into acts and scenes, and cloathed in all the formalities of a regular tragedy," a correct analysis may be found in *THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY*,⁶ and the play itself within these few years has been accurately reprinted.

Hornbooke, 1609: "—— if in the middle of his play, (bee it pastoral or comedie, *morall* or tragedie,) you rise with a shrewd and discontented face," &c.

⁶ Vol. III. pp. 355, *et seq.*

It has been justly remarked by the same judicious writer, that the early practice of performing plays in schools and universities⁷ greatly contributed to the improvement of our drama. "While the people were amused with Skelton's *Trial of Simony*, Bale's *God's Promises*, and *Christ's Descent into Hell*, the scholars of the times were composing and acting plays on historical subjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of legitimate fable must have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama."⁸

In confirmation of what has been suggested, it may be observed, that the principal dramatick writers, before Shakspeare appeared, were scholars. Greene, Lodge, Peele, Marlowe, Nashe, Lily, and Kyd, had all a regular university education. From whatever cause it may have arisen, the dramatick poetry about this period certainly assumed a better, though still an exceptionable, form. The example which had been furnished by Sackville was quickly followed, and a great number of tragedies and

⁷ Among the *memoranda* of my lamented friend, Dr. Farmer, was found what he styles "Index to the Registry of the University of *Cambridge* [loose papers]." From this I have made the following extract of theatrical occurrences in our University :

" 6. 104. Complaint of a riot at the plays at Trinity, 1610.

" 9. 78. *Dominus Pepper* at certain interludes, with his habit, &c. 1600.

" 11. 110. Decree against Plays and Games upon Gogmagog Hills, 1574.

" 13. 12. Windows broke during the comedy at *Kings*, 1595.

" 13. 51. Letter recommending the Queen of *Bohemia's* players, 1629.—15. 32. Answer.

" 13. 117. Players at Chesterton, 1590." STEEVENS.

⁸ *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 388.

historical plays was produced between the years 1570 and 1590; some of which are still extant, though by far the greater part is lost. This, I apprehend, was the great era of those bloody and bombastick pieces, which afforded subsequent writers perpetual topicks of ridicule: and during the same period were exhibited many *Histories*, or historical dramas, formed on our English Chronicles, and representing a series of events simply in the order of time in which they happened. Some have supposed that Shakspeare was the first dramattick poet that introduced this species of drama; but this is an undoubted error. I have elsewhere observed that every one of the subjects on which he constructed his historical plays, appears to have been dramatized, and brought upon the scene, before his time.⁹ The historical drama is by an elegant modern writer supposed to have

⁹ See Vol. XIV. p. 260.

Goffon, in his *Plays confuted in five Actions*, printed about the year 1580, says, "In playes either those things are fained that never were, as *Cupid and Psyche*, plaied at Paules; [he means, in Paul's school,]—or if a true *historie* be taken in hand, it is made like our shavelings, longest at the rising and falling of the sunne." From the same writer we learn, that many preceding dramattick poets had travelled over the ground in which the subjects of several of Shakspeare's other plays may be found. "I may boldly say it, (says Goffon,) because I have seene it, that *The Palace of Pleasure*, *The Golden Asse*, *The Æthiopian Historie*, *Amadis of Fraunce*, *The Round Table*, bawdie comedies in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, have beene *thoroughly ransackt* to furnish the playe-houses in London." Signat. D 5. b.

Lodge, his antagonist in this controversy, in his *Play of Plays and Pastimes*, a work which I have never seen, urges us, as Prynne informs us, in defence of plays, that "they dilucidate and well explain many darke obscure *histories*, imprinting them in men's minds in such indelible characters that they can hardly be obliterated." *Histrionastix*, p. 940. See also Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612: "Plays have made the ignorant

owed its rise to the publication of *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, in which many of the most distinguished characters in English history are introduced, giving a poetical narrative of their own misfortunes.¹ Of this book three editions, with various alterations and improvements, were printed between 1563 and 1587.

At length (about the year 1591) the great luminary of the dramattick world blazed out, and our poet produced those plays which have now for two hundred years been the boast and admiration of his countrymen.

Our earliest dramas, as we have seen, were represented in churches or near them by ecclesiasticks : but at a very early period, I believe, we had regular and established players, who obtained a livelihood by their art. So early as in the year 1378, as has been already noticed, the singing-boys of St. Paul's represented to the King, that they had been at a considerable expence in preparing a stage representation at Christmas. These, however, cannot properly be called comedians, nor am I able to

more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous *histories*; instructed such as cannot reade, in the discovery of our *English Chronicles*: and what man have you now of that weak capacity that cannot discourse of any notable thing recorded, *even from William the Conqueror*, nay, from the landing of Brute, untill this day, being possesse of their true use?"—In Florio's dialogues in Italian and English, printed in 1591, we have the following dialogue:

"G. After dinner we will go see a play.

"H. The plaies that they play in England are not right comedies.

"T. Yet they do nothing else but plaie every daye.

"H. Yea, but they are neither right comedies, nor right tragedies.

"G. How would you name them then?

"H. Representations of *histories*, without any decorum."

¹ Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, Vol. I. p. 166.

point out the time when the profession of a player became common and established. It has been supposed that the licence granted by Queen Elizabeth to James Burbage and others, in 1574, was the first regular license ever granted to comedians in England; but this is a mistake, for Heywood informs us that similar licenses had been granted by her father King Henry the Eighth, King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary. Stowe records, that “when King Edward the Fourth would shew himself in state to the view of the people, he repaired to his palace at St. John’s, where he was accustomed to see the *City Actors*.”² In two books in the Remembrancer’s-office in the Exchequer, containing an account of the daily expences of King Henry the Seventh, are the following articles; from which it appears, that at that time players, both French and English, made a part of the appendages of the court, and were supported by regal establishment.

“*Item*, to Hampton of Worcester for making of balades, 20s. *Item*, to my ladie the kings moders poete, 66s. 8d. *Item*, to a Welsh Rymer, in reward, 13s. 4d. *Item*, to my Lord Privie-Seals fole, in rew. 10s. *Item*, to Pachye the fole, for a rew. 6s. 8d. *Item*, to the foolish duke of Lancaster, 3s. *Item*, to Dix the foles master, for a months wages, 10s. *Item*, to the King of Frances fole, in rew. 4l. *Item*, to the *Frenshe players*, in rew. 20s. *Item*, to the tumbler upon the ropes, 20s.

² *Apology for Actors*, 4to. 1612, Signat. E 1. b. “Since then,” adds Heywood, “that the house by the princes free gift hath belonged to the office of the Revels, where our court playes have been in *late dayes* yearly rehearsed, perfected, and corrected, before they come to the publike view of the prince and the nobility.” This house must have been chosen on account of its neighbourhood to Whitehall, where the royal theatre then was. The regular office of the Revels at that time was on St. Peter’s Hill, near the Black-friars’ playhouse.

Item, for heling of a feke maid, 6s. 8d. [Probably the piece of gold given by the King in touching for the evil.] *Item*, to my lord princes organ-player, for a quarters wages at Michell. 10s. *Item*, to the players of London, in reward, 10s. *Item*, to Master Barnard, the blind poete, 100s. *Item*, to a man and woman for strawberries, 8s. 4d. *Item*, to a woman for a red rose, 2s." The foregoing extracts are from a book, of which almost every page is signed by the King's own hand, in the 13th year of his reign. The following are taken from a book which contains an account of expences in the 9th year of his reign: "*Item*, to Cart for writing of a boke, 6s. 8d. *Item*, payd for two playes in the hall, 26s. 8d. *Item*, to the kings players for a reward, 100s. *Item*, to the king to play at cardes, 100s. *Item*, lost to my lord Morging at buttes, 6s. 8d. *Item*, to Harry Pynning, the king's godson, in reward, 20s. *Item*, to the players that begged by the way, 6s. 8d."³

Some of these articles I have preserved as curious, though they do not relate to the subject immediately before us. This account ascertains, that there was then not only a regular troop of players in London, but also a royal company. The intimate knowledge of the French language and manners which Henry must have acquired during his long sojourn in foreign courts, (from 1471 to 1485,) accounts for the article relative to the company of French players.

In a manuscript in the Cottonian Library in the Museum, a narrative is given of the shews and

³ For these extracts I am indebted to Francis Grose, Esq. to whom every admirer of the venerable remains of English antiquity has the highest obligations.

ceremonies exhibited at Christmas in the fifth year of this king's reign, 1490: "This Cristmas I saw no disgyfynge, and but *right few plays*; but ther was an abbot of mis-rule, that made much sport, and did right well his office.—On Candell Mass day, the king, the queen, my ladye the king's moder, with the substance of al the lordes temporell present at the parlement, &c. wenten a procession from the chapell into the hall, and soo into Westmynster Hall:—The kynge was that daye in a riche gowne of purple, pilled with the gold, furred with the furs.—At nyght the king, the queen, and my ladye the king's moder, came into the Whit hall, and ther had *a pley*."—"On New-yeeres day at nyght, (says the same writer, speaking of the year 1488,) ther was a goodly disgyfynge, and also this Cristmas ther wer *many and dyvers playes*."⁴

A proclamation which was issued out in the year 1547 by King Edward the Sixth, to prohibit for about two months the exhibition of "any kind of interlude, play, dialogue, or other matter set forth in the form of a play, in the English tongue," describes plays as a familiar entertainment, both in London and in the country,⁵ and the profession of

⁴ Leland. *Collect.* Vol. IV. Append. pp. 235, 256, edit. 1774.

⁵ Itinerant companies of actors are probably coeval with the first rise of the English stage. King Henry the Seventh's bounty to some strolling players has been mentioned in the preceding page. In 1556, the fourth year of Queen Mary, a remonstrance was issued from the Privy Council to the Lord President of the North, stating, "that certain lewd [wicked or dissolute] persons, naming themselves to be the servants of Sir Francis Lake, and wearing his livery or badge on their sleeves, have wandered about these north parts, and representing certain plays and interludes, reflecting on the queen and her consort, and the formalities

an actor as common and established. “Forasmuch as a great number of those that be *common players of interludes and playes*, as well within the city of London as elsewhere within the realme, doe for the most part play such interludes as contain matter tending to sedition,”⁶ &c. By *common* players of interludes here mentioned, I apprehend, were meant the players of the city, as contradistinguished from the king’s own servants. In a manuscript which I saw some years ago, and which is now in the library of the Marquis of Lansdown, are fundry charges for the players belonging to King Edward the Sixth; but I have not preserved the articles. And in the house-hold book of Queen Mary, in the Library of the Antiquarian Society, is an entry which shows that she also had a theatrical establishment: “Eight players of interludes, each 66s. 8d.—26l. 13s. 4d.”

It has already been mentioned that originally plays were performed in churches. Though Bonner Bishop of London issued a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese in 1542, prohibiting “all manner of common plays, games, or interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared within their churches, chappels,” &c. the practice seems to have been continued occasionally during the reign of Queen Elizabeth; for the author of *The Third Blast of Retrait from Plays and Players* complains, in 1580, that “the players are permitted to publish their mammetrie in every temple of God, and that throughout England;” &c. and this abuse is taken notice of in one of the Canons of King James the

of the mass.” Strype’s *Memorials*, Vol. III. Append. III. p. 185.

⁶ Fuller’s *Church History*, B. VII. p. 390.

First, given soon after his accession in the year 1603. Early, however, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, the established players of London began to act in temporary theatres constructed in the yards of inns;⁷ and about the year 1570, I imagine, one or two regular playhouses were erected.⁸ Both the theatre in Blackfriars and that in Whitefriars were certainly built before 1580; for we learn from a puritanical pamphlet published in the last century, that soon after that year, "many goodly citizens and well disposed gentlemen of London, considering that play-houses and dicing-houses were traps for young gentleman, and others, and perceiving that many inconveniences and great damage would ensue upon the long suffering of the same,—acquainted some pious magistrates therewith,—who thereupon made humble suite to Queene Elizabeth and her privy-councell, and obtained leave from her majesty to thrust the players out of the citty, and to pull down all playhouses and dicing-houses within their liberties; which accordingly was ef-

⁷ "In process of time it [playing] became an occupation, and many there were that followed it for a livelihood, and, what was worse, it became the occasion of much sin and evil; great multitudes of people, especially youth, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, resorting to these plays: and being commonly acted on Sundays and festivals, the churches were forsaken, and the play-houses thronged. Great inns were used for this purpose, which had secret chambers and places, as well as open stages and galleries." Strype's *Additions to Stowe's Survey*, folio, 1720, Vol. I. p. 247.

⁸ "In playes either those thinges are fained that never were, as *Cupid and Psyche*, played at Paules, [the school-room of St. Paul's,] and a great many comedies more at *the Blackfriars*, and in every playhouse in London, which for brevity's sake I over-kippe; or," &c. *Plays confuted in five Actions*, by Stephen Gosson, no date, but printed about the year 1580.

fects, and the playhouses in Gracious-street, Bishopsgate-street, that nigh Paul's, that on Ludgate-hill, and the White-friers, were quite pulled down and suppressed by the care of these religious senators."⁹ The theatre in Blackfriars, not being within the liberties of the city of London, escaped the fury of these fanatics. Elizabeth, however, though she yielded in this instance to the frenzy of the time, was during the whole course of her reign a favourer of the stage, and a frequent attendant upon plays. So early as in the year 1569, as we learn from another puritanical writer, the children of her chapel, (who are described as "her majesty's unfledged minions,") "flaunted it in their filkes and fattens," and acted plays on profane subjects in the chapel-royal.¹ In 1574 she granted a licence to James Burbage, probably the father of the celebrated tragedian, and four others, servants to the Earl of Leicester, to exhibit all kinds of stage-plays, during pleasure, in any part of England, "as well for the recreation of her loving subjects, as for her own solace and pleasure when she should think

⁹ Richard Reulidge's *Monster lately found out and discovered, or the scourging of Tipplers*, 1628, pp. 2, 3, 4. What he calls the theatres in Gracious Street, Bishopsgate Street, and Ludgate Hill, were the temporary scaffolds erected at the Cross Keys Inn in Gracechurch Street, the Bull in Bishopsgate Street, and the Bell Savage on Ludgate Hill. "That nigh Paul's," was St. Paul's school-room, behind the Convocation-house.

¹ "Even in her majesties chapel do these pretty upstart youthes prophane the Lordes-day by the lascivious writhing of their tender limbes, and gorgeous decking of their apparell, in feigning bawdie fables, gathered from the idolatrous heathen poets," &c. *The Children of the Chapel stript and whipt*, 1569, fol. xiii. b. These children acted frequently in Queen Elizabeth's reign at the theatre in Whitefriars.

good to see them ;”² and in the year 1583, soon after a furious attack had been made on the stage

² For the notice of this ancient theatrical licence we are indebted to Mr. Steevens. It is found among the unpublished collections of Rymer, which were purchased by parliament, and are deposited in the British Museum. Ascoug’s Catalogue of Sloanian and other manuscripts, N^o. 4625.

“ *Pro Jacobo Burbage et aliis, de licentia speciali.*

“ Elizabeth by the grace of God, Quene of England, &c. To all justices, mayors, sheriffes, bayliffes, head constables, under constables, and all other oure officers and mynisters, greting.

“ Know ye, that we of our especiall grace, certen knowledge, and mere motion, have licensed and auctorised, and by these presents do lycense and auctorise our loving subjectes James Burbage, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wilson, servaunts to our trustie and well beloved cosen and counseyllour the Earle of Leycester, to use, exercyse and occupie the arte and facultye of playenge commedies, tragedies, enterludes, stage-playes, and such other like as they have alredie used and studied, or hereafter shall use and studie, as well for the recreation of our lovinge subjectes as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thinke good to see them, as also to use and occupie all such instrumentes as they have alredie practised or hereafter shall practise, for and duringe our pleasure ; and the said commedies, tragedies, enterludes, and stage-plaies, together with their musicke, to shew, publishe, exercise and occupie to their best commoditie, during all the terme aforesaid, as well within the liberties and freedoms of anye our cities, townes, bouronghs, &c. whatsoever, as without the same, thoroughoute our realme of England. Willinge and commaundinge yowe and every of you, as ye tender our pleasure, to permit and suffer them herein withoute anye lettes, hynderaunce, or molestation, duringe the terme aforesaide, any acte, statute, or proclamation or commaundement heretofore made or hereafter to be made notwythstandynge ; provyded that the saide commedies, tragedies, enterludes and stage-playes be by the Master of our Revells for the tyme beyng before sene and allowed ; and that the same be not published or shewen in the tyme of common prayer, or in the tyme of greate and common plague in our saide citey of London. In wytnes wherof, &c.

by the puritans, twelve of the principal comedians of that time, at the earnest request of Sir Francis Walsingham, were selected from the companies then subsisting, under the licence and protection of various noblemen,³ and were sworn her majesty's servants.⁴ Eight of them had an annual stipend of

“ Wytnes our selfe at Westminster the 10th daye of Maye.
[1574.]

“ *Per breve de privato sigillo.*”

Mr. Steevens supposed that Mr. Doddsley was inaccurate in saying in the preface to his *Collection of Old Plays*, p. 22, that “ the first company of players we have any account of in history are the children of Paul's in 1578,” four years subsequent to the above licence. But the figures 1578 in that page are merely an error of the press for 1378, as may be seen by turning to a former page of Mr. Doddsley's preface, to which, in p. 22, he himself refers.

³ The servants of the Earls of Derby, Pembroke, and Essex; those of the Lord Chamberlain; the servants of the Lord Admiral (Nottingham); those of Lord Strange, Lord Suffex, Lord Worcester, &c.—By the statute 39 Eliz. c. 4, noblemen were authorized to license players to act both in town and country; the statute declaring “ that all common players of interludes *wandering abroad*, other than players of interludes belonging to anie baron of this realme, or anie other honourable personage of greater degree, to be authorized to play under the hand and seale of arms of such baron or personage, shall be adjudged and deemed rogues and vagabonds.”

This statute has been frequently mis-stated by Prynne and others, as if it declared *all* players (except noblemen's servants) to be rogues and vagabonds: whereas it was only made against *strolling* players.

Long after the playhouses called the Theatre and the Curtain had been built, and during the whole reign of Elizabeth, the companies belonging to different noblemen acted occasionally at the Cross Keys in Gracechurch Street, and other inns, and also in the houses of noblemen at weddings and other festivals.

⁴ “ Comedians and stage-players of former time were very poor and ignorant in respect of these of this time; but being now [in 1583] growne very skilfull and exquisite actors for all matters, they were entertained into the service of divers great

3l. 6s. 8d. each.⁵ At that time there were eight

lords; out of which companies there were twelve of the best chosen, and, at the request of Sir Francis Walsingham, they were sworn the queen's servants, and were allowed wages and liveries as groomes of the chamber: and untill this yeare 1583, the queene had no players. Among these twelve players were two rare men, viz. Thomas Wilson, for a quicke, delicate, refined, extemporall witt, and Richard Tarleton, for a wondrous plentifull pleasant extemporall wit, he was the wonder of his tyme.—He lieth buried in Shoreditch church.”—“He was so beloved,” adds the writer in a note, “that men use his picture for their signes.” Stowe's *Chron.* published by Howes, sub. ann. 1583, edit. 1615.

The above paragraph was not written by Stowe, not being found in the last edition of his Chronicle published in his lifetime, 4to. 1605: and is an interpolation by his continuator, Edmund Howes.

Richard Tarleton, as appears by the register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, was buried there September the third, 1588.

The following extract from Strype shows in how low a state the stage was at this time:

“Upon the ruin of Paris Garden, [the fall of a scaffold there in January, 1583-4,] suit was made to the Lords [of the Council] to banish plays wholly in the places near London: and letters were obtained of the Lords to banish them on the Sabbath days.

“Upon these orders against the players, the *Queen's players* petitioned the Lords of the Council, That whereas the time of their service drew very near, so that of necessity they must needs have exercise to enable them the better for the same, and also for their better keep and relief *in their poor livings*, the season of the year being past to play at any of the houses without the city: Their humble petition was, that the Lords would vouchsafe to read a few articles annexed to their supplication, and in consideration [that] the matter contained the very stay and state of their living, to grant unto them confirmation of the same, or of as many as should be to their honours good liking; and withal, their favourable letters to the Lord Maior, to permit them to exercise within the city; and that their letters might contain some orders to the Justices of Middlesex in their behalf.” Strype's *Additions to Stowe's Survey*, Vol. I. p. 248.

⁵ Household-book of Queen Elizabeth in 1584, in the Museum, MSS. Sloan. 3194. The continuator of Stowe says, she had no players before, (see n. 4,) but I suspect that he is mista-

companies of comedians, each of which performed twice or thrice a week.⁶

King James the First appears to have patronized the stage with as much warmth as his predecessor. In 1599, while he was yet in Scotland, he solicited Queen Elizabeth (if we may believe a modern historian) to send a company of English comedians to Edinburgh; and very soon after his accession to the throne, granted the following licence to the company at the Globe, which is found in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

“ PRO LAURENTIO FLETCHER & WILLIELMO SHAKESPEARE & aliis.

“ A. D. 1603. *Pat.*

“ 1. Jac. P. 2. m. 4. James by the grace of God, &c. to all justices, maiors, sheriffs, constables, headboroughs, and other our officers and loving subjects, greeting. Know you that wee, of our special grace, certaine knowledge, and meer motion, have licensed and authorised, and by these presentes doe licence and authorize theise our servants, Laurence Fletcher, WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillipps, John Hemings, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armin, Richard Cowly, and the rest of their associates, freely to use and exercise the art and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plaies, and such like other

ken, for Queen Mary, and King Edward the Sixth, both had players on their establishments. See p. 45.

⁶ “ For reckoning with the leaste the gaine that is reaped of *eight* ordinarie places in the citie, (which I know,) by playing but once a weeke, (whereas many times they play twice, and sometimes thrice,) it amounteth to two thousand pounds by the year.” *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse*, by John Stockwood, 1578.

as thei have alreadie studied or hereafter shall use or studie, as well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thincke good to see them, during our pleasure: and the said comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plaies, and such like, to shew and exercise publiquely to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within their nowe usuall house called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as also within anie towne-halls or moute-halls, or other convenient places within the liberties and freedom of any other citie, universitie, toun, or boroughe whatsoever, within our said realmes and dominions. Willing and commanding you and everie of you, as you tender our pleasure, not onlie to permit and suffer them herein, without any your letts, hindrances, or molestations, during our pleasure, but also to be aiding or assistinge to them if any wrong be to them offered, and to allow them such former curtesies as hathe been given to men of their place and quallitie; and also what further favour you shall shew to theise our servaunts for our sake, we shall take kindlie at your handes. In witness whereof, &c.

“Witness our selfe at Westminster, the nynteenth daye of Maye.

“*Per Breve de privato sigillo.*”

HAVING now, as concisely as I could, traced the History of the English Stage, from its first rude state to the period of its maturity and greatest splendor, I shall endeavour to exhibit as accurate a delineation of the internal form and economy of our ancient theatres, as the distance at which we stand, and the obscurity of the subject, will permit.

The most ancient English playhouses of which I have found any account, are, the playhouse in *Blackfriars*, that in *Whitefriars*,⁷ the *Theatre*, of

⁷ There was a theatre in Whitefriars, before the year 1580. See p. 45. *A Woman's a Weathercock* was performed at the private playhouse in Whitefriars in 1612. This theatre was, I imagine, either in Salisbury Court or the narrow street leading into it. From an extract taken by Sir Henry Herbert from the Office-book of Sir George Buc, his predecessor in the office of Master of the Revels, it appears that the theatre in Whitefriars was either rebuilt in 1613, or intended to be rebuilt. The entry is: "July 13, 1613, for a license to erect a new play-house in the White-friers, &c. £.20." I doubt, however, whether this scheme was then carried into execution, because a new playhouse was erected in Salisbury Court in 1629. That theatre probably was not on the site of the old theatre in Whitefriars, for Prynne speaks of it as then *newly built*, not *re-built*; and in the same place he mentions the *re-building* of the Fortune and the Red Bull theatres.—Had the old theatre in Whitefriars been pulled down and re-built, he would have used the same language with respect to them all. *The Rump*, a comedy by Tatham, was acted in 1669, in the theatre in Salisbury Court (that built in 1629). About the year 1670, a new theatre was erected there, (but whether on the site of that last mentioned I cannot ascertain,) known by the name of the Theatre in Dorset Gardens, to which the Duke of York's company, under the conduct of Sir William D'Avenant's widow, removed from Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1671. The former playhouse in Salisbury Court

which I am unable to ascertain the situation,⁸ and *The Curtain*, in Shoreditch.⁹ *The Theatre*, from its name, was probably the first building erected in or near the metropolis purposely for scenick exhibitions.

In the time of Shakspeare there were seven principal theatres: three private houses, namely, that in *Blackfriars*, that in *Whitefriars*, and *The Cockpit*

could hardly have fallen into decay in so short a period as forty years; but I suppose was found too small for the new scenery introduced after the Restoration. The Prologue to Wycherley's *Gentleman Dancing Master*, printed in 1673, is addressed "To the city, newly after the removal of the Duke's Company from Lincoln's-Inn fields to their new theatre near Salisbury-court."

Maitland, in his *History of London*, p. 963, after mentioning Dorset Stairs, adds, "near to which place stood the theatre or play-house, a neat building, having a curious front next the Thames, with an open place for the reception of coaches."

⁸ It was probably situated in some remote and privileged place, being, I suppose, hinted at in the following passage of a sermon by John Stockwood, quoted below, and preached in 1578: "Have we not houses of purpose built with great charges for the maintainance of them, [the players,] and that *without the liberties*, as who shall say, there, let them say what they will, we will play. I know not how I might, with the godly-learned especially, more discommend the gorgeous playing-place *erected in the fields*, than to term it, as they please to have it called, a *Theatre*."

⁹ *The Theatre* and *The Curtain* are mentioned in "A Sermon preached at Paules-Cross on St. Bartholomew day, being the 24th of August, 1578, by John Stockwood," and in an ancient *Treatise against Idleness, vaine Plaies and Interludes*, by John Northbrook, bl. l. no date, but written apparently about the year 1580. Stubbes, in his *Anatomy of Abuses*, p. 90, edit. 1583, inveighs against *Theatres* and *Curtaines*, which he calls *Venus' Palaces*. Edmund Howes, the continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle*, says, (p. 1004,) that before the year 1570, he "neither knew, heard, nor read of any such theatres, set stages, or play-houses, as have been purposely built within man's memory."

or *Phoenix*,¹ in Drury-Lane; and four that were called publick theatres; viz. *The Globe* on the Bank-side, *The Curtain*² in Shoreditch, *The Red Bull*, at the upper end of St. John's Street, and *The Fortune*³

¹ This theatre had been originally a Cockpit. It was built or rebuilt not very long before the year 1617, in which year we learn from Camden's Annals of King James the First, it was pulled down by the mob: "1617, Martii 4. Theatrum ludionum nuper erectum in Drury-Lane à furente multitudine diruitur, et apparatus dilaceratur." I suppose it was sometimes called *The Phoenix*, from that fabulous bird being its sign. It was situated opposite the Castle tavern in Drury Lane, and was standing some time after the Restoration. The players who performed at this theatre in the time of King James the First, were called the Queen's Servants, till the death of Queen Anne, in 1619. After her death, they were, I think, for some time denominated the Lady Elizabeth's Servants; and after the marriage of King Charles the First, they regained their former title of the Queen's players.

² See *Skialetheia*, an old collection of Epigrams and Satires, 16mo. 1598:

" ————— if my dispose
 " Persuade me to a play, I'll to the Rose,
 " Or *Curtain*, ———."

The *Curtain* is mentioned in Heath's Epigrams, 1610, as being then open; and *The Hector of Germany* was performed at it by a company of young men in 1615. The original sign hung out at this playhouse (as Mr. Steevens has observed) was the painting of a curtain striped. The performers at this theatre were called *The Prince's Servants*, till the accession of King Charles the First to the crown. Soon after that period it seems to have been used only by prize-fighters.

³ The Fortune theatre, according to Maitland, was the oldest theatre in London. It was built or re-built in 1599, by Edward Alleyn, the player, (who was also the proprietor of the *Bear Garden*, from 1594 to 1610,) and cost 520l. as appears from the following memorandum in his hand-writing:

" What <i>The Fortune</i> cost me, Nov. 1599.	
" First for the leas to Brew,	- - 240.
" Then for building the play-hous,	- - 520.
" For other privat buildings of myn owne,	120.
	—
" So that it hath cost me for the leasse,	£.880."

in Whitecrofs Street. The last two were chiefly

It was a round brick building, and its dimensions may be conjectured from the following advertisement in *The Mercurius Politicus*, Tuesday Feb. 14, to Tuesday Feb. 21, 1661, for the preservation of which we are indebted to Mr. Steevens: "The Fortune play-house situate between Whitecrofs-street and Golding-lane, in the parish of Saint Giles, Cripplegate, with the ground thereto belonging, is to be lett to be built upon; where twenty-three tenements may be erected, with gardens; and a street may be cut through for the better accommodation of the buildings."

The Fortune is spoken of as a playhouse of considerable size, in the prologue to *The Roaring Girl*, a comedy which was acted there, and printed in 1611:

"A roaring girl, whose notes till now ne'er were,

"Shall fill with laughter our vast theatre."

See also the concluding lines of Shirley's prologue to *The Doubtful Heir*, quoted below.

Howes, in his continuation of Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 1004, edit. 1631, says, it was burnt down in or about the year 1617: "About foure yeares after, [i. e. after the burning of the Globe] a fayre strong new-built play-house near Golden-lane, called the Fortune, by negligence of a candle was cleane burnt to the ground, but shortly after re-built far fairer." He is, however, mistaken as to the time, for it was burnt down in December, 1621, as I learn from a letter in Dr. Birch's collection in the Museum, from Mr. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated Dec. 15, 1621, in which is the following paragraph: "On sunday night here was a great fire at *The Fortune*, in Golding-lane, the first play-house in this town. It was quite burnt downe in two hours, and all their apparell and play-books lost, whereby those poore companions are quite undone. There were two other houses on fire, but with great labour and danger were saved." MS. Birch, 4173. It does not appear whether this writer, by "the first play-house in this town," means the first in point of size or dignity, or the oldest. I doubt much of its being the oldest, though that is the obvious meaning of the words, and though Maitland has asserted it: because I have not found it mentioned in any of the tracts relative to the stage, written in the middle of Elizabeth's reign.

Prynne says that the Fortune on its re-building was enlarged, Epistle Dedicat. to *Histrionastix*, 4to. 1633.

Before this theatre there was either a picture or statue of Fortune. See *The English Traveller*, by Heywood, 1633:

frequented by citizens.⁴ There were however, but six companies of comedians; for the playhouse in Blackfriars, and the Globe, belonged to the same troop. Beside these seven theatres, there were for some time on the Bankside three other publick theatres; *The Swan*, *The Rose*,⁵ and *The Hope*:⁶ but *The Hope* being used chiefly as a bear-garden, and *The Swan* and *The Rose* having fallen to decay early in King James's reign, they ought not to be enumerated with the other regular theatres.

All the established theatres that were open in 1598, were either without the city of London or its liberties.⁷

“ ——— I'll rather stand here,
 “ Like a statue in the fore-front of your house
 “ For ever; like the picture of dame Fortune
 “ Before the Fortune play-house.”

⁴ Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 5.

⁵ The Swan and the Rose are mentioned by Taylor the Water-Poet, but in 1613 they were shut up. See his Works, p. 171, edit. 1633. The latter had been built before 1598. See p. 55, n. 2. After the year 1620, as appears from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, they were used occasionally for the exhibition of prize-fighters.

⁶ Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was performed at this theatre in 1614. He does not give a very favourable description of it:—“ Though the fair be not kept in the same region that some here perhaps would have it, yet think that the author hath therein observed a special decorum, the place being as dirty as *Smithfield*, and as stinking every whit.”—*Induction to Bartholomew Fair*.

It appears from an old pamphlet entitled *Holland's Leaguer*, printed in quarto in 1632, that *The Hope* was occasionally used as a bear-garden, and that *The Swan* was then fallen into decay.

⁷ Sunt porro Londini, *extra urbem*, theatra aliquot, in quibus histriones Angli comœdias et tragœdias singulis fere diebus, in magna hominum frequentia agunt; quas variis etiam saltationibus, suavissima adhibita musica, magno cum populi applausu finire solent.” Hentzneri *Itinerarium*, 4to. 1598, p. 132.

It appears from the office-book⁸ of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels to King James the

⁸ For the use of this very curious and valuable manuscript I am indebted to Francis Ingram, of Ribbissford near Bewdley in Worcestershire, Esq. Deputy Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer. It has lately been found in the same old chest which contained the manuscript Memoirs of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, from which Mr. Walpole about twenty years ago printed the Life of that nobleman, who was elder brother to Sir Henry Herbert.

The first Master of the Revels in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was Thomas Benger, whose patent passed the great seal Jan. 18, 1560-1. It is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*. His successor, Edmund Tilney, obtained a grant of this office (the reversion of which John Lily, the dramatick poet, had long in vain solicited,) on the 24th of July, 1579, (as appears from a book of patents in the Pell's-office,) and continued in possession of it during the remainder of her reign, and till October, 1610, about which time he died. This office for near fifty years appears to have been considered as so desirable a place, that it was constantly fought for during the life of the possessor, and granted in reversion. King James on the 23d of June, 1603, made a reversionary grant of it to Sir George Buc, (then George Buc, Esq.) to take place whenever it should become vacant by the death, resignation, forfeiture, or surrender, of the then possessor, Edmund Tilney; who, if I mistake not, was Sir George Buc's maternal uncle. Mr. Tilney, as I have already mentioned, did not die till the end of the year 1610, and should seem to have executed the duties of the office to the last; for his executor, as I learn from one of the *Exitus* books in the Exchequer, received in the year 1611, 120l. 18s. 3d. due to Mr. Tilney on the last day of the preceding October, for one year's expences of office. In the edition of Camden's *Britannia*, printed in folio in 1607, Sir George Buc is called Master of the Revels, I suppose from his having obtained the reversion of that place: for from what I have already stated he could not have been then in possession of it. April 3, 1612, Sir John Aftley, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber, obtained a reversionary grant of this office, to take place on the death, &c. of Sir George Buc, as Ben Jonson, the poet, obtained a similar grant, October, 5, 1621, to take place on the death, &c. of Sir John Aftley and Sir George Buc.

Sir George Buc came into possession of the office about No-

First, and the two succeeding kings, that very soon after our poet's death, in the year 1622, there were

vember, 1610, and held it till the end of the year 1621, when, in consequence of ill health, he resigned it to King James, and Sir John Astley succeeded him. How Sir Henry Herbert got possession of this office originally, I am unable to ascertain; but I imagine Sir John Astley for a valuable consideration appointed him his *deputy*, in August, 1623; at which time, to use Sir Henry's own words, he "was *received* as Master of the Revels by his Majesty at Wilton:" and in the warrant-books of Philip Earl of Pembroke, now in the Lord Chamberlain's office, containing warrants, orders, &c. between the years 1625 and 1642, he is constantly styled Master of the Revels. If Sir John Astley had formally resigned or surrendered his office, Ben Jonson, in consequence of the grant obtained in the year 1621, must have succeeded to it; but he never derived any emolument from that grant, for Sir John Astley, as I find from the probate of his will, in the prerogative office, (in which it is observable that he calls himself *Master of the Revels*, though both the duties and emoluments of the office were then exercised and enjoyed by another,) did not die till January 1639-40, above two years after the poet's death. To make his title still more secure, Sir Henry Herbert, in conjunction with Simon Thelwall, Esq. August 22, 1629, obtained a reversionary grant of this much sought-for office, to take place on the death, surrender, &c. of Sir John Astley and Benjamin Jonson. Sir Henry held the office for fifty years, though during the usurpation he could not exercise the functions nor enjoy the emoluments of it.

Sir George Buc wrote an express treatise as he has himself told us, on the stage and on revels, which is unfortunately lost. Previous to the exhibition of every play, it was licensed by the Master of the Revels, who had an established fee on the occasion. If ever, therefore, the office-books of Mr. Tilney and Sir George Buc shall be found, they will ascertain precisely the chronological order of all the plays written by Shakspeare; and either confirm or overturn a system in forming which I have taken some pains. Having, however, found many of my conjectures confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's manuscript, I have no reason to augur ill concerning the event, should the registers of his predecessors ever be discovered.

The regular salary of this office was but ten pounds a year; but, by fees and other perquisites, the emoluments of Sir George Buc in the first year he came into possession of it, amounted to near 100l. The office afterwards became much more valuable.

but five principal companies of comedians in London; the King's Servants, who performed at the Globe and in Blackfriars; the Prince's Servants, who performed then at the Curtain; the Palsgrave's Servants,⁹ who had possession of the Fortune; the players of the Revels, who acted at the Red Bull;¹ and the Lady Elizabeth's Servants, or, as they are sometimes denominated, the Queen of Bohemia's players, who performed at the Cockpit in Drury Lane.²

Having mentioned this gentleman, I take this opportunity of correcting an error into which Anthony Wood has fallen, and which has been implicitly adopted in the new edition of *Biographia Britannica*, and many other books. The error I allude to, is, that this Sir George Buc, who was knighted at Whitehall by King James the day before his coronation, July 23, 1603, was the author of the celebrated *History of King Richard the Third*; which was written above twenty years after his death, by George Buck, Esq. who was, I suppose, his son. The precise time of the father's death, I have not been able to ascertain, there being no will of his in the prerogative office; but I have reason to believe that it happened soon after the year 1622. He certainly died before August 1629.

The office-book of Sir Henry Herbert contains an account of almost every piece exhibited at any of the theatres from August, 1623, to the commencement of the rebellion in 1641, and many curious anecdotes relative to them, some of which I shall presently have occasion to quote. This valuable manuscript having lain for a considerable time in a damp place, is unfortunately damaged, and in a very mouldering condition: however, no material part of it appears to have perished.

I cannot conclude this long note without acknowledging the obliging attention of W. E. Roberts, Esq. Deputy Clerk of the Pells, which facilitated every search I wished to make in his office, and enabled me to ascertain some of the facts above stated.

⁹ "1622. The Palsgrave's servants. Frank Grace, Charles Maffy, Richard Price, Richard Fowler, — Kane, Curtys Grevill." MS. Herbert. Three other names have perished. Of these one must have been that of Richard Gunnell, who was then the manager of the Fortune theatre; and another, that of William Cartwright, who was of the same company.

When Prynne published his *Histrionastix*, (1633,) there were six playhouses open; the theatre in Blackfriars; the Globe; the Fortune; the Red Bull; the Cockpit or Phoenix, and a theatre in Salisbury Court, Whitefriars.³

All the plays of Shakspeare appear to have been performed either at *The Globe*, or the theatre in *Blackfriars*. I shall therefore confine my inquiries principally to those two. They belonged, as I have already observed, to the same company of comedians, namely, his majesty's servants, which title they obtained after a licence had been granted to them by King James in 1603; having before that time, I apprehend, been called the servants of the

¹ "The names of the chiefe players at the Red Bull, called the players of the Revells. Robert Lee, Richard Perkings, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Basse, John Blany, John Cumber, William Robbins." *Ibidem*.

² "The chiefe of them at the Phoenix. Christopher Beefton, Joseph More, Eliard Swanson, Andrew Cane, Curtis Grevill, William Shurlock, Anthony Turner." *Ibidem*. Eliard Swanson in 1624 joined the company at Blackfriars.

That part of the leaf which contained the list of the king's servants, and the performers at the *Curtain*, is mouldered away.

³ It has been repeated again and again that Prynne enumerates *seventeen* playhouses in London in his time; but this is a mistake; he expressly says that there were only six, (see his Epistle Dedicatory) and the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert confirms his assertion.

Mr. Doddsley and others have fallen into this mistake of supposing there were seventeen play-houses open at one time in London; into which they were led by the continuator of Stowe, who mentions that between 1570 and 1630 seventeen playhouses were built, in which number, however, he includes five inns turned into playhouses, and St. Paul's singing-school. He does not say that they were all open at the same time.—A late writer carries the matter still further, and asserts that it appears from Rymer's MSS. in the Museum that there were *twenty-three* playhouses open at one time in London!

Lord Chamberlain. Like the other servants of the household, the performers enrolled into this company were sworn into office, and each of them was allowed four yards of bastard scarlet for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of velvet for the cape, every second year.⁴

The theatre in Blackfriars was situated near the present Apothecaries' Hall, in the neighbourhood of which there is yet *Playhouse Yard*, not far from which the theatre probably stood. It was, as has been mentioned, a private house; but what were the distinguishing marks of a private playhouse, it is not easy to ascertain. We know only that it was smaller⁵ than those which were called publick theatres; and that in the private theatres plays were usually presented by candle-light.⁶

⁴ "These are to signify unto your lordship his majesties pleasure, that you cause to be delivered unto his majesties players whose names follow, viz. John Hemmings, John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, Richard Robinson, John Shank, Robert Benfield, Richard Sharp, Eliard Swanson, Thomas Pollard, Anthony Smith, Thomas Hobbes, William Pen, George Vernon, and James Horne, to each of them the severall allowance of foure yardes of bastard scarlet for a cloake, and a quarter of a yard of crimson velvet for the capes, it being the usual allowance graunted unto them by his majesty every second yeare, and due at Easter last past. For the doing whereof theis shall be your warrant. May 6th, 1629." *MS. in the Lord Chamberlain's Office.*

⁵ Wright, in his *Hist. Histrion.* informs us, that the theatre in *Blackfriars*, the *Cockpit*, and that in *Salisbury Court*, were exactly alike both in form and size. The smallness of the latter is ascertained by these lines in an epilogue to *Tottenham Court*, a comedy by Nabbes, which was acted there:

"When others' fill'd rooms with neglect disdain ye,
"My little house with thanks shall entertain ye."

⁶ "All the city looked like a private play-house, when the windows are clapt downe, as if some nocturnal and dismal tragedy were presently to be acted." Decker's *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, 1606. See also *Historia Histrionica*.

In this theatre, which was a very ancient one, the children of the Revels occasionally performed.⁷

It is said in Camden's Annals of the reign of King James the First, that the theatre in Blackfriars fell down in the year 1623, and that above eighty persons were killed by the accident; but he was

⁷ Many pieces were performed by them in this theatre before 1580. Sometimes they performed entire pieces; at others, they represented such young characters as are found in many of our poet's plays. Thus we find Nat. Field, John Underwood, and William Ostler, among the children of the Revels, who represented several of Ben Jonson's comedies at the Blackfriars in the earlier part of King James's reign, and also in the list of the actors of our author's plays prefixed to the first folio, published in 1623. They had then become men.

Lily's *Campaspe* was acted at the theatre in Blackfriars in 1584, and *The Case is Altered*, by Ben Jonson, was printed in 1609, as acted by *the children of Black-friers*. Some of the children of the Revels also acted occasionally at the theatre in Whitefriars; for we find *A Woman's a Weathercock* performed by them at that theatre in 1612. Probably a certain number of these children were appropriated to each of these theatres, and instructed by the elder performers in their art; by which means this young troop became a promptuary of actors. In a manuscript in the Inner Temple, No. 515, Vol. VII. entitled "A booke conteyning several particulars with relation to the king's servants, petitions, warrants, bills, &c. and supposed to be a copy of some part of the Lord Chamberlain of the Household's book in or about the year 1622," I find "A warrant to the signet-office (dated July 8th, 1622,) for a privie seale for his majesties licensing of Robert Lee, Richard Perkins, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Basse, John Blany, John Cumber, and William Robbins, late comedians of Queen Anne deceased, *to bring up children in the qualitie and exercise of playing comedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plaies, and such like, as well for the sollace and pleasure of his majestie, as for the honest recreation of such as shall desire to see them; to be called by the name of The Children of the Revels;—and to be drawne in such a manner and forme as hath been used in other lycenses of that kinde.*" These very persons, we have seen, were the company of the Revels in 1622, and were then become men.

misinformed.⁸ The room which gave way was in a private house, and appropriated to the service of religion.

I am unable to ascertain at what time the Globe theatre was built. Hentzner has alluded to it as existing in 1598, though he does not expressly mention it.⁹ I believe it was not built long before the year 1596.¹ It was situated on the Bankside, (the

⁸ “ 1623. Ex occasu domûs scenicæ apud Black-friers Londini, 81 personæ spectabiles necantur.” Camdeni *Annales ab anno 1603 ad annum 1623*, 4to. 1691, p. 82. That this writer was misinformed, appears from an old tract, printed in the same year in which the accident happened, entitled, *A Word of Comfort, or a Discourse concerning the late Lamentable Accident of the Fall of a Room at a Catholick sermon in the Black-friers, London, whereby about four-score persons were oppressed*, 4to. 1623.

See also verses prefixed to a play called *The Queen*, published by Alexander Goughe, (probably the son of Robert Goughe, one of the actors in Shakspeare's Company) in 1653 :

“ ————— we dare not say—

“ ——— that Blackfriers we heare, which in this' age

“ Fell, when it was a church, *not when a stage* ;

“ Or that the puritans that once dwelt there,

“ Prayed and thriv'd, though the play-house were so
near.”

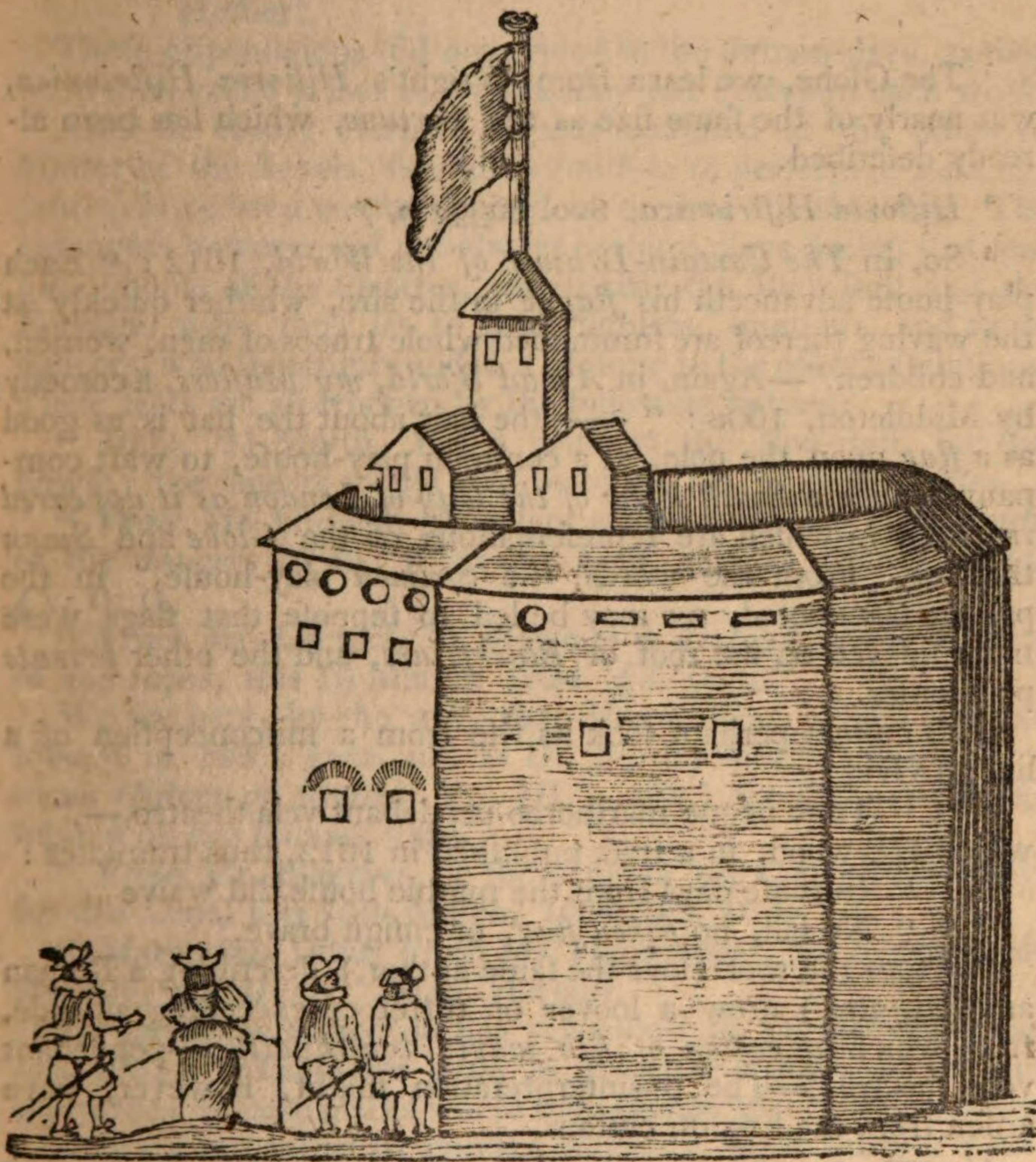
Camden had a paralytick stroke on the 18th of August, 1623, and died on the 9th of November following. The above-mentioned accident happened on the 24th of October ; which accounts for his inaccuracy. The room which fell, was an upper room in Hunsdon-House, in which the French Ambassador then dwelt. See Stowe's *Chron.* p. 1035, edit. 1631.

⁹ “ Non longe ab uno horum theatrorum, quæ omnia lignea sunt, ad Thamesin navis est regia, quæ duo egregia habet conclavia,” &c. *Itin.* p. 132. By *navis regia* he means the royal barge called the *Gallyfoist*. See the South View of London, as it appeared in 1599.

¹ See “ The Suit of the Watermen against the Players,” in the Works of Taylor the Water Poet, p. 171.

southern side of the river Thames,) nearly opposite to Friday Street, Cheapside. It was an hexagonal wooden building, partly open to the weather, and partly thatched.² When Hentzner wrote, all the other theatres as well as this were composed of wood.

² In the long Antwerp View of London in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, is a representation of the Globe theatre, from which a drawing was made by the Rev. Mr. Henley, and transmitted to Mr. Steevens. From that drawing this cut was made.



The Globe was a publick theatre, and of considerable size,³ and there they always acted by daylight.⁴ On the roof of this and the other publick theatres a pole was erected, to which a flag was affixed.⁵ These flags were probably displayed only during the hours of exhibition; and it should seem from one of the old comedies that they were taken down in Lent, in which time, during the early part of King James's reign, plays were not allowed to be represented,⁶ though at a subsequent period this prohibition was dispensed with.⁷

³ The Globe, we learn from Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, was nearly of the same size as the *Fortune*, which has been already described.

⁴ *Historia Histrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 7.

⁵ So, in *The Curtain-Drawer of the World*, 1612: "Each play-house advanceth his *flagge* in the aire, whither quickly at the waving thereof are summoned whole troops of men, women, and children."—Again, in *A mad World, my Masters*, a comedy by Middleton, 1608: "——the hair about the hat is as good as a *flag* upon the pole, at a common play-house, to waft company." See a *South View of the City of London as it appeared in 1599*, in which are representations of the *Globe* and *Swan* theatres. From the words, "a common play-house," in the passage last quoted, we may be led to suppose that flags were not displayed on the roof of *Blackfriars*, and the other private playhouses.

This custom perhaps took its rise from a misconception of a line in Ovid:

"Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro,—"
which Heywood, in a tract published in 1612, thus translates:

"In those days from the marble house did waive

"No fail, no *silken flag*, or ensign brave."

"From the roof (says the same author,) describing a Roman amphitheatre,) grew a loover or turret of exceeding altitude, from which an *ensign of silk waved continually*;—pendebant vela theatro."—The misinterpretation might, however, have arisen from the English custom.

⁶ "'Tis *Lent* in your cheeks;—the *flag is down*." *A mad World, my Masters*, a comedy by Middleton, 1608.

I formerly conjectured that *The Globe*, though hexagonal at the outside, was perhaps a rotunda

Again, in Earle's *Characters*, 7th edit. 1638 : " Shrove-tuesday hee [*a player*] feares as much as the bawdes, and *Lent* is more dangerous to him than the butchers."

⁷ " [Received] of the King's players for a *lenten dispensation*, the other companys promising to doe as much, 44s. March 23, 1616.

" Of John Hemminges, in the name of the four companys, for toleration in the holy-dayes, 44s. January 29, 1618."

Extracts from the office-book of Sir George Buc. MSS. Herbert.

These dispensations did not extend to the sermon-days, as they were then called ; that is, Wednesday and Friday in each week.

After Sir Henry Herbert became possessed of the office of Master of the Revels, fees for permission to perform in Lent appear to have been constantly paid by each of the theatres. The managers however did not always perform plays during that season. Some of the theatres, particularly the Red Bull and the Fortune, were then let to prize-fighters, tumblers, and rope-dancers, who sometimes added a Masque to the other exhibitions. These facts are ascertained by the following entries :

" 1622. 21 Martii. For a prise at the Red-Bull, for the howse ; the fencers would give nothing. 10s." MSS. Afley.

" From Mr. Gunnel, [Manager of the Fortune,] in the name of the dancers of the ropes for Lent, this 15 March, 1624. £1. 0. 0.

" From Mr. Gunnel, to allowe of a *Masque* for the dancers of the ropes, this 19 March, 1624. £2. 0. 0."

We see here, by the way, that *Microcosmus*, which was exhibited in 1637, (was not, as Dr. Burney supposes in his ingenious *History of Musick*, Vol. III. p. 385,) the first masque exhibited on the publick stage.

" From Mr. Blagrove, in the name of the Cockpit company, for this Lent, this 30th March, 1624. £2. 0. 0."

" March 20, 1626. From Mr. Hemminges, for this Lent allowance, £2. 0. 0." MSS. Herbert.

Prynne takes notice of this relaxation in his *Histrionomastix*, 4to. 1633 : " There are none so addicted to stage-playes, but when they go unto places where they cannot have them, or when as they are suppressed by publike authority, (as in times of pestilence, and in *Lent*, till now of late,) can well subsist without them." P. 784.

within, and that it might have derived its name from its circular form.⁸ But, though the part appropriated to the audience was probably circular, I now believe that the house was denominated only from its sign; which was a figure of Hercules supporting the Globe, under which was written, *Totus mundus agit histrionem*.⁹ This theatre was burnt down on the 29th of June, 1613;¹ but it was re-

⁸ "After these" (says Heywood, speaking of the buildings at Rome, appropriated to scenick exhibitions,) "they composed others, but differing in form from the theatre or amphitheatre, and every such was called *circus*; the frame *globe-like*, and merely *round*." *Apology for Actors*, 1612. See also our author's prologue to *King Henry V*:

"——— or may we cram

"Within this wooden O," &c.

But as we find in the prologue to Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, which was acted by the *Children of Paul's* in 1602:

"If any spirit breathes within this *round*,—"

no inference respecting the denomination of *the Globe* can be drawn from this expression.

⁹ Stowe informs us, that "the allowed Stewhouses [antecedent to the year 1545] had signes on their frontes towards the Thames, not hanged out, but painted on the walles; as a Boares head, The Cross Keyes, The Gunne, The Castle, The Crane, The Cardinals Hat, The Bell, The Swanne," &c. *Survey of London*, 4to. 1603, p. 409. The houses which continued to carry on the same trade after the ancient and privileged edifices had been put down, probably were distinguished by the old signs; and the sign of the Globe, which theatre was in their neighbourhood, was perhaps, in imitation of them, painted on its wall.

¹ The following account of this accident is given by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter dated July 2, 1613, *Reliq. Wotton*, p. 425, edit. 1685: "Now to let matters of state sleepe, I will entertain you at the present with what happened this week at the Banks side. The Kings Players had a new play called *All is true*, representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry the Eighth, which was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty, even to the matting of the stage; the knights of the order with their Georges and Garter,

built in the following year, and decorated with more ornament than had been originally bestowed upon it.²

The exhibitions at *the Globe* seem to have been calculated chiefly for the lower class of people;³

the guards with their embroidered coats, and the like: sufficient in truth within a while to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now King Henry making a Masque at the Cardinal Wolsey's house, and certain cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the paper or other stuff, wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoak, and their eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming within less than an hour the whole house to the very ground. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabrick, wherein yet nothing did perish but *wood* and *straw*, and a few forsaken cloaks."

From a letter of Mr. John Chamberlaine's to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated July 8, 1613, in which this accident is likewise mentioned, we learn that this theatre had only two doors. "The burning of the Globe or playhouse on the Bankside on St. Peter's day cannot escape you; which fell out by a peal of chambers, (that I know not upon what occasion were to be used in the play,) the tampion or stopple of one of them lighting in the thatch that covered the house, burn'd it down to the ground in less than two hours, with a dwelling-house adjoyning; and it was a great marvaile and fair grace of God that the people had so little harm, having but *two narrow doors* to get out." Winwood's *Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 469. Not a single life was lost.

In 1613 was entered on the Stationers' books *A doleful Ballad of the general Conflagration of the famous Theatre on the Bankside, called the Globe*. I have never met with it.

² See Taylor's *Skuller*, p. 31, Ep. xxii:

"As gold is better that's in fier try'd,

"So is the Bank-side *Globe*, that late was burn'd;

"For where before it had a thatched hide,

"Now to a stately theator 'tis turn'd."

See also Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 1003.

³ *The Globe* theatre being contiguous to the *Bear Garden*, when the sports of the latter were over, the same spectators probably resorted to the former. The audiences at *the Bull* and *the Fortune* were, it may be presumed, of a class still inferior to

those at *Blackfriars*, for a more select and judicious audience. This appears from the following pro-

that of *the Globe*. The latter, being the theatre of his majesty's servants, must necessarily have had a superior degree of reputation. At all of them, however, it appears, that noise and shew were what chiefly attracted an audience. Our author speaks in *Hamlet* of *berattling the common* [i. e. the *publick*] theatres." See also *A Prologue* spoken by a company of players who had seceded from *the Fortune*, p. 81, n. 6; from which we learn that the performers at that theatre, "*to split the ears of groundlings,*" used "*to tear a passion to tatters.*"

[This circumstance is farther confirmed by a passage in Gayton's Notes on *Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 24: "I have heard, that the poets of *the Fortune* and *Red Bull* had alwayes a mouth-measure for their actors (who were *terrible teare-throats*), and made their lines proportionable to their compasse, which were *sesquipedales*, a foot and a halfe." TODD.]

In some verses addressed by Thomas Carew to Mr. [afterwards Sir William] D'Avenant, "Upon his excellent Play, *The Just Italian*," 1630, I find a similar character of the *Bull* theatre:

" Now noise prevails; and he is tax'd for drowth
 " Of wit, that with the cry spends not his mouth.—
 " — thy strong fancies, raptures of the brain
 " Dress'd in poetick flames, they entertain
 " As a bold impious reach; for they'll still flight
 " All that exceeds RED BULL and *Cockpit* flight.
 " These are the men in crowded heaps that throng
 " To that adulterate stage, where not a tongue
 " Of the untun'd kennel can a line repeat
 " Of serious sense; but like lips meet like meat:
 " Whilst the true brood of actors, that alone
 " Keep natural unstrain'd action in her throne,
 " Behold their benches bare, though they rehearse
 " The terser Beaumont's or great Jonson's verse."

The *true brood of actors* were the performers at *Blackfriars*, where *The Just Italian* was acted.

See also *The Careless Shepherdess*, represented at Salisbury Court; 4to. 1656:

" And I will hasten to the money-box,
 " And take my *shilling* out again;—
 " I'll go to THE BULL, or FORTUNE, and there see
 " A play for *two-pence*, and a jig to boot."

logue to Shirley's *Doubtful Heir*, which is inserted among his poems, printed in 1646, with this title :

“ Prologue at *the GLOBE*, to his Comedy called *The Doubtful Heir*, which should have been presented at *the Blackfriars*.⁴

“ Gentlemen, I am only sent to say,
 “ Our author did not calculate his play
 “ For *this* meridian. The *Bankside*, he knows,
 “ Is far more skilful at the ebbs and flows
 “ Of water than of wit; he did not mean
 “ For the elevation of your poles, this scene.
 “ No shews,—no dance,—and what you most delight in,
 “ Grave understanders,⁵ here's no target-fighting
 “ Upon the stage; all work for cutlers barr'd;
 “ No bawdry, nor no ballads;—this goes hard:
 “ But language clean, and, what affects you not,
 “ Without impossibilities the plot;
 “ No clown, no squibs, no devil in't.—Oh now,
 “ You squirrels that want nuts, what will you do?
 “ Pray do not crack the benches, and we may
 “ Hereafter fit your palates with a play.
 “ But you that can contract yourselves, and fit,
 “ As you were now in the *Blackfriars* pit,
 “ And will not deaf us with lewd noise and tongues,
 “ Because we have no heart to break our lungs,
 “ Will pardon our *vast* stage, and not disgrace
 “ This play, meant for your persons, not the place.”

The superior discernment of the *Blackfriars* audience may be likewise collected from a passage in

⁴ In the printed play these words are omitted; the want of which renders the prologue perfectly unintelligible. The comedy was performed for the first time at the Globe, June 1, 1640.

⁵ The common people stood in *the Globe* theatre, in that part of the house which we now call the pit; which being lower than the stage, Shirley calls them *understanders*. In the private play-houses, it appears from the subsequent lines, there were seats in the pit.

Ben Jonson has the same quibble: “—the *understanding* gentlemen of the *ground* here.”

the preface prefixed by Hemings and Condell to the first folio edition of our author's works: "And though you be a *magistrate of wit*, and sit on the stage at *Blackfriars*, or the Cockpit, to arraigne plays dailie, know these plays have had their trial already, and stood out all appeales."

A writer already quoted⁶ informs us that one of these theatres was a winter, and the other a summer, house.⁷ As *the Globe* was partly exposed to the weather, and they acted there usually by day-light, it appeared to me probable (when this Essay was originally published) that this was the summer theatre; and I have lately found my conjecture confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript. The king's company usually began to play at the Globe in the month of May. The exhibitions here seem to have been more frequent⁸ than at *Blackfriars*,

⁶ Wright.

⁷ His account is confirmed by a passage in an old pamphlet, entitled *Holland's Leaguer*, 4to. 1632: "She was most taken with the report of three famous amphytheators, which stood so neere situated, that her eye might take view of them from her lowest turret. One was *the Continent of the World*, because *halfe the yeere* a world of beauties and brave spirits resorted unto it. The other was a building of excellent *Hope*; and though wild beasts and gladiators did most possesse it," &c.

⁸ *King Lear*, in the title-page of the original edition, printed in 1608, is said to have been performed by his majesties servants, playing *usually at the Globe* on the Bankside.—See also the licence granted by King James in 1603: "—and the said comedies, tragedies, &c.—to shew—as well within their now *usual* house called *the Globe*,—." No mention is made of their theatre in *Blackfriars*; from which circumstance I suspect that antecedent to that time our poet's company played *only* at the Globe, and purchased the *Blackfriars* theatre afterwards. In the licence granted by King Charles the First to John Heminge and his associates in the year 1625, they are authorized to exhibit plays, &c. "as well within these *two* their most usual houses called the Globe in the county of Surrey, and their private houses situate within

till the year 1604 or 1605, when the *Bankside* appears to have become less fashionable, and less frequented than it formerly had been.⁹

Many of our ancient dramatick pieces (as has been already observed) were performed in the yards of carriers' inns, in which, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the comedians, who then first united themselves in companies, erected an occasional stage.¹ The form of these temporary playhouses seems to be preserved in our modern theatre. The galleries, in both, are ranged over each other on three sides of the building. The small rooms under the lowest of these galleries answer to our present boxes; and it is observable that these, even in theatres which were built in a subsequent period expressly for dramatick exhibitions, still retained their old name, and are frequently called *rooms*,² by our ancient writers.³ The yard

the precinct of the *Blackfryers*,—as also," &c. Had they possessed the Blackfriars theatre in 1603, it would probably have been mentioned in the former licence. In the following year they certainly had possession of it, for Marston's *Malcontent* was acted there in 1604.

⁹ See *The Works* of Taylor the Water Poet, p. 171, edit. 1630.

¹ Fleckno, in his *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, published in 1664, says, some remains of these ancient theatres were at that day to be seen in the inn-yards of the *Cross-keys* in Gracechurch Street, and *the Bull* in Bishopsgate Street.

In the seventeen playhouses erected between the years 1570 and 1630, the continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle* reckons "five *innes* or common *osteries* turned into play-houses."

² See a prologue to *If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it*, quoted in p. 76, n. 9. These rooms appear to have been sometimes employed, in the infancy of the stage, for the purpose of gallantry. "These plays, (says Strype in his additions to Stowe's *Survey*,) being commonly acted on Sundays and festivals, the churches were forsaken, and the play-houses thronged. Great inns were used for this purpose, which had secret cham-

bears a sufficient resemblance to the pit, as at present in use. We may suppose the stage to have been raised in this area, on the fourth side, with its back to the gateway of the inn, at which the money for admission was taken. Thus, in fine weather, a playhouse not incommodious might have been formed.

Hence, in the middle of *the Globe*, and I suppose of the other *publick* theatres, in the time of Shakspeare, there was an open yard or area,⁴ where the common people stood to see the exhibition; from

bers and places as well as open stages and galleries. Here maids and good citizens' children were inveigled and allured to private unmeet contracts." He is speaking of the year 1574.

³ The word—*room*, I believe, had anciently no other signification than—*place*. So, in *St. Luke*, xiv. 1: "And he put a parable to those which were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief *rooms*; saying unto them,

"When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest *room*, lest a man more honourable than thou be bidden of him;

"And he that bade thee and him, come and say to thee, Give this man *place*, and thou begin with shame to take the *lowest room*." STEEVENS.

⁴ "In the play-houses at London, it is the fashion of youthes to go first into the *yard*, and to carry their eye through every gallery; then like unto ravens, when they spy the carion, thither they flye, and press as near to the fairest as they can." *Plays confuted in Five several Actions*, by Stephen Gosson, 1580. Again, in Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: "The stage, like time, will bring you to most perfect light, and lay you open; neither are you to be hunted from thence, though the *scar-crowes* in the *yard* hoot at you, hiss at you, spit at you." So, in the prologue to an old comedy called *The Hog has lost his Pearl*, 1614:

"We may be pelted off for what we know,

"With apples, eggs, or stones, from *those below*."

See also the prologue to *The Doubtful Heir*, ante, p. 71:

"—— and what you most delight in,

"Grave *understanders*,—."

which circumstance they are called by our author *groundlings*, and by Ben Jonson “the *understanding gentlemen of the ground*.”

The galleries, or *scaffolds*, as they are sometimes called, and that part of the house which in private theatres was named the pit,⁵ seem to have been at the same price; and probably in houses of reputation, such as *the Globe*, and that in *Blackfriars*, the price of admission into those parts of the theatre was sixpence,⁶ while in some meaner playhouses it

⁵ The pit Dr. Percy supposed to have received its name from one of the playhouses having been formerly a *cock-pit*. This account of the term, however, seems to be somewhat questionable. The place where the seats are ranged in St. Mary's at Cambridge, is still called the *pit*; and no one can suspect that venerable fabrick of having ever been a *cock-pit*, or that the phrase was borrowed from a playhouse to be applied to a church. A *pit* is a place low in its relative situation, and such is the middle part of a theatre.

Shakspeare himself uses *cock-pit* to express a small confined situation, without any particular reference:

“ — Can this *cock-pit* hold
 “ The vasty fields of France,—or may we cram,
 “ Within this wooden O, the very casques
 “ That did affright the air at Agincourt?”

⁶ See an old collection of tales, entitled, *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*, 4to. 1595: “When the great man had read the actors letter, he presently, in answer to it, took a sheet of paper, and folding *sixpence* in it, sealed it, subscribed it, and sent it to his brother; intimating thereby, that though his brother had vowed not in seven years to see him, yet he for his *sixpence* could come and see him upon the stage at his pleasure.”

So, in the Induction to *The Magnetick Lady*, by Ben Jonson, which was first represented in October, 1632: “Not the *fæces* or grounds of your people, that sit in the oblique caves and wedges of your house, your sinful *sixpenny mechanicks*.”

See below, Verses addressed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdess*.

That there were *sixpenny* places at the *Blackfriars* playhouse, appears from the epilogue to Mayne's *City Match*, which was

was only a penny,⁷ in others twopence.⁸ The price of admiffion into the beft *rooms* or *boxes*,⁹ was, I

acted at that theatre in 1637, being licensed on the 17th of November, in that year :

“ Not that he fears his name can fuffer wrack
 “ From them, who *sixpence* pay, and fixpence crack ;
 “ To fuch he wrote not, though fome parts have been
 “ So like here, that they to themfelves came in.”

⁷ So, in *Wit without Money*, by Fletcher : “ — break in at plays like prentices for three a groat, and crack nuts with the fcholars in *penny* rooms again.”

Again, in Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609 : “ Your *groundling* and *gallery* commoner buys his fport by the *penny*.”

Again, in *Humours Ordinarie*, where a man may be very merrie and exceeding well used for his *Sixpence*, no date :

“ Will you ftand fpending your invention's treasure
 “ To teach ftage-parrots fpeak for *penny* pleasure ?”

⁸ “ Pay thy *two-pence* to a player, in this gallery you may fit by a harlot.” *Bell-man's Night-Walk*, by Decker, 1616.

Again, in the prologue to *The Woman-hater*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1607 : —to the utter difcomfiture of all *two-penny* gallery men.”

It appears from a paffage in *The Roaring Girl*, a comedy by Middleton and Decker, 1611, that there was a *two-penny* gallery in the *Fortune* playhoufe : “ One of them is Nip ; I took him once at the *two-penny* gallery at the *Fortune*.” See alfo above, p. 69, n. 3.

⁹ The boxes in the theatre at *Blackfriars* were probably fmall, and appear to have been *enclofed* in the fame manner as at prefent. See a letter from Mr. Garrard, dated January 25, 1635, *Straff. Letters*, Vol. I. p. 511 : “ A little pique happened betwixt the duke of Lenox and the lord chamberlain, about a *box* at a new play in the *Blackfriars*, of which the duke had got the key ; which if it had come to be debated betwixt them, as it was once intended, fome heat or perhaps other inconvenience might have happened.”

In *The Globe* and the other *publick* theatres, the boxes were of confiderable fize. See the prologue to *If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it*, by Decker, acted at the *Red Bull* :

“ ——— Give me that man,
 “ Who, when the plague of an impofthum'd brains,
 “ Breaking out, infects a theatre, and hotly reigns,

believe, in our author's time, a shilling;¹ though afterwards it appears to have risen to two shillings,²

" Killing the hearers' hearts, that the *vast rooms*
 " Stand empty, like so many dead men's tombs,
 " Can call the banish'd auditor home," &c.

He seems to be here describing his antagonist Ben Jonson, whose plays were generally performed to a thin audience. See *Verses* on our author, by Leonard Digges, Vol. II.

¹ " If he have but *twelvepence* in his purse, he will give it for the *best room* in a playhouse." Sir Thomas Overbury's *Characters*, 1614.

So, in the prologue to our author's *King Henry VIII*:

" ——— Those that come to see
 " Only a shew or two, and so agree
 " The play may pass, if they be still and willing,
 " I'll undertake may see away their *shilling*
 " In two short hours."

Again, in a copy of *Verses* prefixed to Massinger's *Bondman*, 1624:

" Reader, if you have disburs'd a *shilling*
 " To see this worthy story,——."

Again, in the *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: " At a new play you take up the *twelvepenny room* next the stage, because the lords and you may seem to be hail fellow well met."

So late as in the year 1658, we find the following advertisement at the end of a piece called *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, by Sir William D'Avenant: " Notwithstanding the great expence necessary to *scenes* and other ornaments, in this entertainment, there is good provision made of places for a *shilling*, and it shall certainly begin at three in the afternoon."

In *The Scornful Lady*, which was acted by the children of the Revels at Blackfriars, and printed in 1616, *one-and-six-penny* places are mentioned.

² See the prologue to *The Queen of Arragon*, a tragedy by Habington, acted at Blackfriars in May, 1640:

" Ere we begin, that no man may repent
 " *Two shillings* and his time, the author sent
 " The prologue, with the errors of his play,
 " That who will may take his money, and away."

Again, in the epilogue to Maine's *City Match*, acted at *Blackfriars*, in November, 1637:

and half a crown.³ At the Blackfriars theatre the price of the boxes was, I imagine, higher than at the Globe.

From several passages in our old plays we learn, that spectators were admitted on the stage,⁴ and that the criticks and wits of the time usually sat there.⁵ Some were placed on the ground;⁶ others

“ To them who call’t reproof, to make a face,
 “ Who think they judge, when they frown i’t the wrong
 place,
 “ Who, if they speake not ill o’ the poet, doubt
 “ They loose by the play, nor have their *two shillings*
 out,
 “ He says,” &c.

³ See *Wit without Money*, a comedy, acted at *The Phoenix* in Drury Lane, before 1620:

“ And who extoll’d you into the *half-crown* boxe,
 “ Where you might sit and muster all the beauties.”

In the playhouse called *The Hope* on the Bankside, there were five different-priced seats, from sixpence to half a crown. See the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, by Ben Jonson, 1614.

⁴ So, in *A Mad World my Masters*, by Middleton, 1608:
 “ The actors have been found in a morning in less compass than
 their *stage*, though it were ne’er *so full of gentlemen*.” See
 also, p. 80, n. 2.

⁵ “ ——— to fair attire the stage
 “ Helps much; for if our *other audience* see
 “ You on the *stage* depart, before we end,
 “ Our wits go with you all, and we are fools.”

Prologue to *All Fools*, a comedy, acted at *Blackfriars*, 1605.

“ By sitting on the stage, you have a sign’d patent to engrosse
 the whole commoditie of *censure*; may lawfully presume to be a
 girder, and stand at the helm to steer the passage of scenes.”
Guls Hornebooke, 1609.

See also the preface to the first folio edition of our author’s
 works: “ — And though you be a *magistrate of wit*, and sit
 on the *stage* at *Blackfriars* to arraigne plays dailie,—.”

⁶ “ Being on your feet, sneake not away like a coward, but
 salute all your gentle acquaintance *that are spread either on the*
rushes or on stools about you; and draw what troope you can

fat on stools, of which the price was either sixpence,⁷ or a shilling,⁸ according, I suppose, to the commodiousness of the situation. And they were attended by pages, who furnished them with pipes

from the stage after you." Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609. So also, in Fletcher's *Queen of Corinth*:

" I would not yet be pointed at as he is,
 " For the fine courtier, the woman's man,
 " That tells my lady stories, dissolves riddles,
 " Ushers her to her coach, *lies at her feet*
 " *At solemn masques.*"

From a passage in *King Henry IV.* Part I. it may be presumed that this was no uncommon practice in private assemblies also:

" She bids you on the wanton rushes lay you down,
 " And rest your gentle head upon her lap,
 " And she will sing the song that pleaseth you."

This accounts for Hamlet's sitting on the ground at Ophelia's feet, during the representation of the play before the King and court of Denmark. Our author has only placed the young prince in the same situation in which probably his patrons Essex and Southampton were often seen at the feet of some celebrated beauty. What some chose from economy, gallantry might have recommended to others.

⁷ " By *sitting on the stage*, you may with small cost purchase the deere acquaintance of the boyes, have a good *stool* for *sixpence,—*" *Guls Hornebooke*.

Again, *ibidem*: " Present not your selfe on the stage, (especially at a new play,) untill the quaking prologue—is ready to enter; for then it is time, as though you were one of the properties, or that you dropt of [*i. e. off*] the hangings, to creep from behind the arras, with your tripes, or *three-legged stoole* in one hand, and a *teston* mounted between a fore-finger and a thumbe, in the other."

⁸ " These are the most worne and most in fashion
 " Amongst the bever gallants, the stone-riders,
 " The *private stage's audience*, the *twelvepenny-stoole*
 gentlemen."

The Roaring Girl, a comedy, by Middleton and Decker, 1611. So, in the Induction to Marston's *Malcontent*, 1604: " By God's flid if you had, I would have given you *but sixpence* for your stool." This, therefore, was the lowest rate; and the price of the most commodious stools on the stage was a *shilling*.

and tobacco, which was smoked here as well as in other parts of the house.⁹ Yet it should seem that persons were suffered to sit on the stage only in the private playhouses, (such as *Blackfriars*, &c.) where the audience was more select, and of a higher class; and that in *the Globe* and the other publick theatres, no such licence was permitted.¹

The stage was strewed with rushes,² which, we learn from Hentzner and Caius de Ephemera,

- 9 “ When young *Rogero* goes to see a play,
 “ His pleasure is, you place him on the stage,
 “ The better to demonstrate his array,
 “ And how he sits attended by his page,
 “ That only serves to fill those pipes with smoke,
 “ For which he pawned hath his riding-cloak ?”

Springs for Woodcocks, by Henry Parrot, 1613.

Again, in *Skialetheia*, a collection of Epigrams and Satires, 1598 :

- “ See you him yonder who sits o’er the stage,
 “ With the tobacco-pipe now at his mouth ?”

This, however, was accounted “ a custom more honoured in the breach than the observance ;” as appears from a satirical epigram by Sir John Davies, 1598 :

- “ Who dares affirm that Sylla dares not fight ?
 “ He that dares take tobacco on the stage ;
 “ Dares man a whoore at noon-day through the street ;
 “ Dares dance in Paul’s ;” &c.

¹ See the Induction to Marston’s *Malcontent*, 1604, which was acted by his majesty’s servants at *Blackfriars* :

“ *Tyreman*. Sir, the gentlemen will be angry if you sit here.

“ *Sly*. Why, we may sit upon the stage at the private house. Thou dost not take me for a country gentleman, dost ? Dost thou think I fear hissing ? Let them that have stale suits, sit in the galleries, hiss at me——.”

See also, *The Roaring Girl*, by Middleton : “ —the private stage’s audience,——.” *Ante*, p. 79, n. 8.

² “ On the very rushes where the comedy is to daunce, yea, and under the state of Cambyfes himselfe, must our feather’d estridge, like a piece of ordnance, be planted valiantly, because impudently, beating down the mewes and hisses of the opposed rascality.” Decker’s *Guls Hornebooke*.

was in the time of Shakspeare the usual covering of floors in England.³ On some occasions it was entirely matted over;⁴ but this was probably very rare. The curtain which hangs in the front of the present stage, drawn up by lines and pullies, though not a modern invention, (for it was used by Inigo Jones in the masques at court,) was yet an apparatus to which the simple mechanism of our ancient theatres had not arrived; for in them the curtains opened in the middle, and were drawn backwards and forwards on an iron rod.⁵ In some playhouses they were woollen, in others, made of silk.⁶ To-

³ See also, Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, 1600: "'Fore God—, sweet lady, believe it, I do honour the meanest *rush* in this chamber for your love."

⁴ See p. 68, n. 1.

⁵ The epilogue to *Tancred and Gismund*, a tragedy, 1592, concludes thus:

"Now draw the curtaines, for our scene is done."

Again, in *Lady Alimony*, 1659: "Be your stage-curtains artificially drawn, and so covertly shrowded, that the squint-eyed groundling may not peep in."

See also a stage-direction in *The First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House, by Declamation and Musick, after the Manner of the Ancients*, by Sir William D'Avenant, 1658:

"The song ended, the curtains are drawn open again, and the epilogue enters."

⁶ See *A Prologue upon the removing of the late Fortune Players to the Bull*, by J. Tatham; *Fancies Theatre*, 1640:

"Here gentlemen our anchor's fixt; and we,

"Disdaining *Fortune's* mutability,

"Expect your kind acceptance; then we'll sing,

"(Protected by your smiles, our ever-spring,)

"As pleasant as if we had still possess'd

"Our lawful portion out of *Fortune's* breast.

"Only we would request you to forbear

"Your wonted custom, banding tile and pear

"Against our curtains, to allure us forth:—

"I pray, take notice, these are of more worth;

wards the rear of the stage there appears to have been a balcony,⁷ or upper stage; the platform of which was probably eight or nine feet from the ground. I suppose it to have been supported by pillars. From hence, in many of our old plays, part of the dialogue was spoken; and in the front of it curtains likewise were hung,⁸ so as occasionally to conceal the persons in it from the view of the audience. At each side of this balcony was a box,

“ Pure *Naples silk*, not *worsted*.—We have ne’er
 “ An actor here has mouth enough to tear
 “ Language by the ears. This forlorn hope shall be
 “ By us refin’d from such gross injury;
 “ And then let your judicious loves advance
 “ Us to our merits, them to their ignorance.”

⁷ See Nabbes’s *Covent Garden*, a comedy, 1639:

“ Enter Dorothy and Susan in the *balcone*.”

So, in *The Virgin Martyr*, by Massinger and Decker, 1622:
 “ They whispering below, Enter above, Sapritius;—with him Artemia the princess, Theophilus, Spungius, and Hircius.” And these five personages speak from their elevated situation during the whole scene.

Again, in Marston’s *Fawne*, 1606:

“ Whilst the act [i. e. the musick between one act and another] is a playing, Hercules and Tiberio enters; Tiberio climbs the tree, and is received *above* by Dulcimet, Philocalia and a priest: Hercules stays *beneath*.”

See also the early quarto edition of our author’s *Romeo and Juliet*, where we meet—“ Enter *Romeo and Juliet*, aloft.” So, in *The Taming of a Shrew* (not Shakspeare’s play): “ Enter *aloft* the drunkard,”—Almost the whole of the dialogue in that play between the tinker and his attendants, appears to have been spoken in this balcony.

In Middleton’s *Family of Love*, 1608, signat. B 2, b. it is called *the upper stage*.

⁸ This appears from a stage-direction in Massinger’s *Emperor of the East*, 1632: “ The *curtain* drawn above: Theodosius and his eunuchs discovered.” Again, in *King Henry VIII*:

“ Let them alone, and draw the curtain close.”

Henry here speaks from the balcony.

very inconveniently situated, which sometimes was called the *private box*. In these boxes, which were at a lower price, some persons sat, either from economy or singularity.⁹

How little the imaginations of the audience were assisted by scenical deception, and how much necessity our author had to call on them to "piece out imperfections with their thoughts," may be collected from Sir Philip Sidney, who, describing the state of the drama and the stage, in his time, (about the year 1583,) says, "Now you shall have three ladies

⁹ "Whether therefore the gatherers of the publique or private playhouse stand to receive the afternoons rent, let our gallant, having paid it, presently advance himself to the throne of the stage. I mean not into *the lord's roome, which is now but the stages suburbs*. No, those boxes,—by the iniquity of custom, conspiracy of waiting-women, and gentlemen-ushers, that there sweat together, and the covetous sharers,—are contemptibly thrust into the *reare*, and much new fatten is, there damnd, by being smother'd to death in darkness." Decker's *Guls Horne-booke*, 1609. So, in the prologue to an old comedy, of which I have lost the title:

"The *private box* took up at a new play,
 "For me and my retinue; a fresh habit
 "Of a fashion never seen before, to draw
 "The gallants' eyes, that sit upon the stage."

See also *Epigrams* by Sir John Davies, no date, but printed at Middleburgh, about 1598:

"*Rufus*, the courtier, at the theatre,
 "Leaving the best and most conspicuous place,
 "Doth either to the stage himself transfer,
 "Or through a grate doth shew his double face,
 "For that the clamorous fry of innes of court,
 "Fills up the private roomes of greater price;
 "And such a place where all may have resort,
 "He in his singularity doth despise."

It is not very easy to ascertain the precise situation of these private boxes. A print prefixed to Kirkman's *Drolls*, 1673, induces me to think that they were at each side of the stage-balcony.

walk to gather flowers, and then we must beleeve the stage to be a garden. By and by we heare news of shipwrack in the same place; then we are to blame, if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that, comes out a hidious monster with fire and smoke; and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while in the mean time two armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard hart wil not receive it for a pitched field.”¹

The first notice that I have found of any thing like moveable scenes being used in England, is in the narrative of the entertainment given to King James at Oxford, in August, 1605, when three plays were performed in the hall of Christ Church, of which we have the following account by a contemporary writer: “The stage” (he tells us) “was built close to the upper end of the hall, as it seemed at the first sight: but indeed it was but a false wall faire painted, and adorned with stately pillars, which pillars would turn about; by reason whereof, with the help of other *painted clothes*, their stage did vary three times in the acting of one tragedy:” that is, in other words, there were three scenes employed in the exhibition of the piece.² The scenery was contrived by Inigo Jones, who is described as *a great traveller*, and who undertook to “further his employers much, and furnish them with rare

¹ *Defence of Poesy*, 1595, Signat. H 4.

² That painted *scenes* were used, at least in the University of Oxford, and consequently that the word *scene* had existence, may be proved by the following stage-direction annexed to the Prologue to *TEXNOTAMIA*, &c. by Barton Holiday, 1618: “Here the upper part of the *scene* opened; when straight appear’d an heaven &c.—they descended in order within the *scene* whiles the Musike plaid.” STEEVENS.

devices, but produced very little to that which was expected.”³

It is observable, that the writer of this account was not acquainted even with the term, *scene*, having used *painted clothes* instead of it: nor indeed is this surprising, it not being then found in this sense in any dictionary or vocabulary, English or foreign, that I have met with. Had the common stages been furnished with them, neither this writer, nor the makers of dictionaries, could have been ignorant of it.⁴ To effect even what was

³ Leland. *Collect.* Vol. II. pp. 631, 646, Edit. 1770. See also, p. 639: “The same day, Aug. 28, after supper, about nine of the clock, they began to act the tragedy of *Ajax Flagellifer*, wherein the stage *varied three times*. They had all goodly antique apparell, but for all that, it was not acted so well by many degrees as I have seen it in Cambridge. The King was very wearie before he came thither, but much more wearied by it, and spoke many words of dislike.”

⁴ Florio, who appears to have diligently studied our customs, illustrating his explanations on many occasions by English proverbs, sayings, local descriptions, &c. in his *Italian Dictionary*, 1598, defines *Scena*, in these words: “A scene of a comedie, or tragedie. Also a stage in a theatre, or playhouse, whereon they play; a skaffold, a pavillion, or fore part of a theatre, *where players make them readie, being trimmed with hangings*, out of which they enter upon the stage. Used also for a comedie or a tragedie. Also a place where one doth shew and set forth himselfe to the world.” In his second edition, published in 1611, instead of the words, “A scene of a comedie or tragedie,” we find—“Any one scene or *entrance* of a comedie or tragedie,” which more precisely ascertains his meaning.

In Cotgrave’s *French and English Dictionary*, printed in 1611, the word *scene* is not found, and if it had existed either in France or England, (in the sense in which we are now considering it,) it would probably have been found. From the word *salot*, the definition of which I shall have occasion to quote hereafter, the writer seems to have been not unacquainted with the English stage.

Bullokar, who was a physician, published an *English Expo-*

done at Christ-Church, the University found it necessary to employ two of the king's carpenters,

sitor in the year in which Shakspeare died. From his definition likewise it appears, that a moveable painted scene was then unknown in our theatres. He defines *Scene*, "A play, a comedy, a tragedy, or the division of a play into certain parts. In old time it signified a place covered with boughes, or the room where the players made them readie." Minshew's large English Dictionary, which he calls *A Guide to the Tongues*, was published in the following year, 1617, and there *Scene* is nothing more than "a theatre." Nay, even so late as in the year 1656, when Cockeram's English Dictionary, or *Interpreter of hard English Words* was published, *Scene* is only said to be "the division of a play into certain parts."

Had our English theatres in the time of Shakspeare been furnished with moveable scenes, painted in perspective, can it be supposed that all these writers should have been ignorant of it?

It is observable that Coryate, in his *Crudities*, 4to. 1611, when he is boasting of the superior splendour of the English theatres, compared with those of Venice, makes no mention of *scenes*. "I was at one of their playhouses, where I saw a comedie. The house is very beggarly and base in comparison of our stately playhouses in England: neither can their actors compare with us, for *apparel, shows, and musicke*." *Crudities*, p. 247.

It is also worthy of remark, that Mr. Chamberlaine, when he is speaking of the fate of the performers at the Fortune theatre, when it was burnt down in 1621, laments that "their *apparel* and *play-books* were lost, whereby those poor companions were quite undone;" but says not a word of *scenes*. See also, Sir Henry Wotton's letter on the burning of the *Globe*, in 1613, p. 68, n. 1. MALONE.

That *scenes*, and the word—*scene*, were used in 1618, may be proved from the following marginal note to the prologue to Barton Holiday's *TEXNOTAMIA*, published in that year: "Here the upper part of the *scene* open'd; when straight appear'd an Heaven, and all the pure arts fitting &c.—they descended in order within the *scene*, while the musike plaid." A similar note is appended to the epilogue, concluding thus: "and then the Heaven closed."

I seize this opportunity to observe, that little deference is due to the authority of ancient Dictionaries, which usually content themselves with allotting a single sense to a word, without attention to its different shades of meaning. STEEVENS.

nd to have the advice of the controller of his works. The Queen's Masque, which was exhibited in the preceding January, was not much more successful, though above 3000*l.* was expended upon it. "At night," says Sir Dudley Carleton, "we had the Queen's Maske in the Banqueting-house, or rather her Pageant. There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, (with other terrible fishes,) which were ridden by the Moors. The indecorum was, that there was all fish and no water. At the further end was a great shell in form of a skallop, wherein were four seats; on the lowest sat the queen with my lady Bedford; on the rest were placed the ladies Suffolk, Darby,"⁵ &c.

⁵ Letter from Sir Dudley Carleton, to Mr. Winwood, London, Jan. 1604. [i. e. 1604-5,] Winwood's *Memorials*, II. 43. This letter contains so curious a trait of our British Solomon, that I cannot forbear transcribing another passage from it, though foreign to our present subject: "On Saint John's day we had the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan performed at Whitehall, with all the honour could be done a great favourite. The court was great, and for that day put on the best bravery.—At night there was a Mask in the hall, which for conceit and fashion was suitable to the occasion. The presents of plate and other things given by the noblemen [to the bride and bridegroom] were valued at 2,500*l.*; but that which made it a good marriage, was a gift of the king's of 500*l.* land, for the bride's jointure. They were lodged in the council-chamber, where the king in *his shirt and night-gown* gave them a *reveille-matin* before they were up, and spent a good time *in or upon the bed*, choose which you will believe. No ceremony was omitted of bride-cakes, points, garters, and gloves, which have been ever since the livery of the court; and at night there was sewing in the sheet, casting of the bride's left hose, with many other petty forceries."

Our poet has been censured for indelicacy of language, particularly in Hamlet's conversation with Ophelia, during the representation of the play before the court of Denmark; but unjustly, for he undoubtedly represented the manners and conversation of

Such were most of the Masques in the time of James the First: triumphal cars, castles, rocks, caves, pillars, temples, clouds, rivers, tritons, &c. composed the principal part of their decoration. In the courtly masques given by his successor during the first fifteen years of his reign, and in some of the plays exhibited at court, the art of scenery seems to have been somewhat improved. In 1636 a piece written by Thomas Heywood, called *Love's Mistress or the Queen's Masque*, was represented at Denmark House before their Majesties. "For the rare decorements" (says Heywood in his preface) "which new apparelled it, when it came the second time to the royal view, (her gracious majesty then entertaining his highness at *Denmark House* upon his birth-day,) I cannot pretermit to give a due character to that admirable artist Mr. Inigo Jones, master surveyor of the king's worke, &c. who to every act, nay almost to every scene, by his excellent inventions gave such an extraordinary lustre; upon every occasion *changing the stage*, to the admiration of all the spectators." Here, as on a former occasion, we may remark, the term *scene* is not used: the *stage was changed*, to the admiration of all the spectators.⁶

his own day faithfully. What the decorum of those times was, even in the highest class, may be conjectured from another passage in the same letter: "The night's work [the night of the queen's masque] was concluded with a banquet in the great chamber, which was so furiously assaulted, that down went tables and tresses, before one bit was touched."—Such was the court of King James the First.

⁶ If in our author's time the publick stage had been *changed*, or in other words, had the Globe and Blackfriars playhouse been furnished with *scenes*, would they have created so much admiration at a royal entertainment in 1636, twenty years after his death?

In August, 1636, *The Royal Slave*, written by a very popular poet, William Cartwright, was acted at Oxford before the king and queen, and afterwards at Hampton-Court. Wood informs us,⁷ that the scenery was an exquisite and uncommon piece of machinery, contrived by Inigo Jones. The play was printed in 1639; and yet even at that late period, the term *scene*, in the sense now affixed to it, was unknown to the author; for describing the various scenes employed in this court-exhibition, he denominates them thus: "The first *Appearance*, a temple of the sun.—Second *Appearance*, a city in the front, and a prison at the side," &c. The three other *Appearances* in this play were, a wood, a palace, and a castle.

In every disquisition of this kind much trouble and many words might be saved, by defining the subject of dispute. Before therefore I proceed further in this inquiry, I think it proper to say, that by a *scene*, I mean, *A painting in perspective on a cloth fastened to a wooden frame or roller*; and that I do not mean by this term, "a coffin, or a tomb, or a gilt chair, or a fair chain of pearl, or a crucifix:" and I am the rather induced to make this declaration, because a writer, who obliquely alluded to the position which I am now maintaining, soon after the first edition of this Essay was published, has mentioned exhibitions of this kind as a proof of the *scenery* of our old plays; and taking it for granted that the point is completely established by this *decisive* argument, triumphantly adds, "Let us for the future no more be told of the want of proper *scenes* and dresses in our ancient theatres,"⁸

⁷ *Hist. et Antiq. Oxon.* L. I. p. 344.

⁸ "My present purpose," says this writer, "is not so much

A passage which has been produced from one of the old comedies,⁹ proves that the common theatres

to describe this dramattick piece, [*The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, written in 1610 or 1611,] as to show that it bears abundant testimony to the use of *scenery*, and the richness of the habits then worn. These particulars will be sufficiently exemplified by the following speeches, and stage-directions :

“ Enter the Tyrant agen at a farder door, which opened brings him to the tomb, where the lady lies buried. The Toombe here discovered, richlie set forthe.”

Some lines are then quoted from the same piece, of which the following are those which alone are material to the present point :

“ *Tyrant*.—Softlee, softlee ;—

“ The vaults e'en chide our steps with murmuring sounds.

“ ————— All thy still strength,

“ Thow grey-eyde monument, shall not keep her from
us.

“ Strike, villaines, thoe the echo raile us all

“ Into ridiculous deafnes ; pierce the jawes

“ Of this could ponderous creature.—

“ O, the moone rises : What reflection

“ Is throwne around this sanctified buildinge !

“ E'en in a twinkling how the monuments glitter,

“ As if Death's pallaces were all massie sylver,

“ And scorn'd the name of marble !”

“ Is it probable, (adds this writer) that such directions and speeches, should have been hazarded, unless at the same time they could be supported and countenanced by corresponding scenery ?”

“ I shall add two more of the stage-directions from this tragedy.—‘ On a sodayne in a kinde of noyse like a wynde, the dores clattering, the toombestone flies open, and a great light appears in the midst of the toombe : his lady, as went owt, standing in it before hym all in white, stuck with jewells, and a great crucifix on her breast.’ Again : ‘ They bring the body in a chayre, drest up in black velvet, which setts off the pailnes of the hands and face, and a faire chayne of pearle crosse the breast, and the crucifix above it,’ &c.

“ Let us for the future, Mr. Baldwin, be told with less confidence of the want of proper *scenes* and drestes in our ancient theatres.”—Letter in *The St. James's Chronicle*, May, 1780.

To all this I have only to say, that it never has been asserted, at least by me, that in Shakspeare's time a *tomb* was not repre-

were furnished with some rude pieces of *machinery*, which were used when it was necessary to exhibit the descent of some god or saint ; but it is manifest from what has been already stated, as well as from all the contemporary accounts, that the mechanism of our ancient theatres seldom went beyond a tomb, a painted chair, a sinking cauldron, or a trap-door, and that none of them had moveable scenes. When King Henry VIII. is to be discovered by the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, reading in his study, the scenical direction in the first folio, 1623, (which was printed apparently from playhouse copies,) is, “ *The King draws the curtain, [i. e. draws it open] and sits reading pensively ;*” for, beside the principal curtains that hung in the front of the stage, they used others as substitutes for scenes,¹ which were

sented on the stage. The monument of the Capulets was perhaps represented in *Romeo and Juliet*, and a wooden structure might have been used for this purpose in that and other plays ; of which, when the door is once opened, and a proper quantity of lamps, false stones, and black cloth displayed, the poet might be as luxuriant as he pleased in describing the surrounding invisible *marble monuments*. This writer, it should seem, was thinking of the epigram on Butler the poet : we ask for *scenes*, and he gives us only a *stone*.

⁹ “ Of whyche the lyke thyng is used to be shewed *now adays* in *stage-playes*, when some *god* or some *saynt* is made to appere forth of a cloude ; and succoureth the parties which seemed to be towardes some great danger, through the Soudan's crueltie.” The author's marginal abridgement of his text is—“ The lyke manner used nowe at *our* days in *stage-playes*.” *Acolastus*, a comedy by T. Palsgrave, chaplain to King Henry VIII. 1540.

¹ See Webster's *Dutchess of Malfy*, acted at the Globe and Blackfriars, and printed in 1623 : “ Here is discovered behind a *traverse* the artificial figures of Antonio and his children, appearing as if they were dead.” In *The Devil's Charter*, a tragedy, 1607, the following stage-direction is found : “ Alexander draweth [that is, draws open] *the curtaine of his studie*, where

denominated *traverses*. If a bedchamber is to be represented, no change of scene is mentioned; but the property-man is simply ordered *to thrust forth a bed*, or, the curtains being opened, a bed is exhibited. So, in the old play on which Shakspeare formed his *King Henry VI. P. II.* when Cardinal Beaufort is exhibited dying, the stage-direction is—“Enter King and Salisbury, and then *the curtaines be drawn*, [i. e. drawn open,] and the Cardinal is discovered in his bed, raving and staring as if he were mad.” When the fable requires the Roman capitol to be represented, we find two officers enter, “to lay cushions, *as it were* in the capitol.” So, in *King Richard II. Act IV. sc. i*: “Bolingbroke, &c. enter *as to the parliament*.”² Again, in *Sir John*

he discovereth the devill fitting in his pontificals.” Again, in *Satiromastix*, by Decker, 1602: “Horace sitting in his *study*, behind a *curtaine*, a candle by him burning, books lying confusedly,” &c. In Marston’s *What you will*, a comedy, 1607, the following stage-direction still more decisively proves this point: “Enter a Schoole-maister,—draws [i. e. draws open] the curtains *behind*, with Battus, Nows, Slip, Nathaniel, and Holifernes Pippo, school-boyes, sitting with bookes in their handes.” Again, in *Albovine*, by Sir William D’Avenant, 1629: He *drawes the Arras*, and discovers Albovine, Rhodolinda, Valdaura, dead in chaires.” Again, in *The Woman in the Moon*, by Lily, 1597: “They draw *the curtins* from before Natures shop, where stands an image clad, and some unclad. They bring forth the cloathed image.” Again, in *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597, Juliet, after she has swallowed the sleepy potion, is ordered to “throw herselfe on the bed, *within the curtaines*.” As soon as Juliet has fallen on the bed, the curtains being still open, the Nurse enters, then old Capulet and his Lady, then the Musicians; and all on the same spot. If they could have exhibited a bed-chamber, and then could have substituted any other room for it, would they have suffered the musicians and the Nurse’s servant to have carried on a ludicrous dialogue in one where Juliet was supposed to be lying dead?

² See these stage-directions in the first folio.

Oldcastle, 1600: "Enter Cambridge, Scroop, and Gray, *as in a chamber.*" When the citizens of Angiers are to appear on the walls of their town, and young Arthur to leap from the battlements, I suppose our ancestors were contented with seeing them in the balcony already described; or perhaps a few boards were tacked together, and painted so as to resemble the rude discoloured walls of an old town, behind which a platform might have been placed near the top, on which the citizens stood: but surely this can scarcely be called a *scene*. Though undoubtedly our poet's company were furnished with some wooden fabrick sufficiently resembling a tomb, for which they must have had occasion in several plays, yet some doubt may be entertained, whether in *Romeo and Juliet* any exhibition of Juliet's monument was given on the stage. Romeo perhaps only opened with his mattock one of the stage trap-doors, (which might have represented a tomb-stone,) by which he descended to a vault beneath the stage, where Juliet was deposited; and this notion is countenanced by a passage in the play, and by the poem on which the drama was founded.³

In all the old copies of the play last-mentioned we find the following stage-direction: "*They march*

³ "Why I *descend* into this bed of death,—." *Romeo and Juliet*, Act V. So, in *The Tragical History of Romeus and Juliet*, 1562:

"And then our Romeus, the *vault-stone set up-right*,

"*Descended downe*, and in his hand he bore the candle light."

Juliet, however, after her recovery, speaks and dies upon the stage. If, therefore, the exhibition was such as has been now supposed, Romeo must have brought her up in his arms from the vault beneath the stage, after he had killed Paris, and then addressed her,—"*O my love, my wife,*" &c.

about the stage, and serving-men come forth with their napkins." A more decisive proof than this, that the stage was not furnished with scenes, cannot be produced. Romeo, Mercutio, &c. with their torch-bearers and attendants, are the persons who march about the stage. They are in the street, on their way to Capulet's house, where a masquerade is given; but Capulet's servants who come forth with their napkins, are supposed to be in a hall or saloon of their master's house: yet both the masquers *without* and the servants *within* appear on the same spot. In like manner in *King Henry VIII.* the very same spot is at once the outside and inside of the Council-Chamber.⁴

It is not, however, necessary to insist either upon the term itself, in the sense of a painting in perspective on cloth or canvas, being unknown to our early writers, or upon the various stage-directions which are found in the plays of our poet and his contemporaries, and which afford the strongest presumptive evidence that the stage in his time was not furnished with scenes: because we have to the same point the concurrent testimony of Shakspeare himself,⁵ of Ben Jonson, of every writer of the last age who has had occasion to mention this subject, and even of the very person who first introduced scenes on the publick stage.

In the year 1629 Jonson's comedy intituled *The New Inn* was performed at the Blackfriars theatre, and deservedly damned. Ben was so much incensed at the town for condemning his piece, that in 1631 he published it with the following title: *The New*

⁴ See Vol. XV. p. 186, n. 1.

⁵ "In your imagination hold
 " *This stage*, the ship, upon whose deck
 " The sea-toft Pericles appears to speak."

Inne, or the light Heart, a comedy; as it was never acted, but most negligently played, by some, the kings servants, and more squeamishly beheld and censured by others, the kings subjects, 1629: And now at last set at liberty to the readers, his Ma.^{ties} servants and subjects, to be judged, 1631." In the Dedication to this piece, the author, after expressing his profound contempt for the spectators, who were at the first representation of this play, says, "What did they come for then, thou wilt ask me. I will as punctually answer: to see and to be seene. To make a general muster of themselves in their clothes of credit, and possesse the stage against the playe: to dislike all, but marke nothing: and by their confidence of rising between the actes in oblique lines, make affidavit to the whole house of their not understanding one scene. Arm'd with this prejudice, as *the stage furniture or arras clothes*, they were there; as spectators away; for *the faces in the hangings* and they beheld alike."

The exhibition of plays being forbidden some time before the death of Charles I.⁶ Sir William

⁶ An ordinance for the suppressing of all stage-plays and interludes, was enacted Feb. 13, 1647-8, and Oliver and his Saints seem to have been very diligent in enforcing it. From Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 332, we learn that Captain Bethan was appointed (13 Dec. 1648,) Provost Martial, "with power to seize upon all ballad-singers, and to *suppress stage-plays*."

"20 Dec. 1649. Some stage-players in Saint John's-street [the *Red Bull* theatre was in this street,] were apprehended by troopers, their cloaths taken away, and themselves carried to prison." *Ibidem*, p. 419.

"Jan. 1655. [1655-6.] Players taken in Newcastle, and whipt for rogues." *Ibid.* 619.

"Sept. 4, 1656. Sir William D'Avenant printed his Opera, notwithstanding the nicety of the times." *Ibid.* p. 639.

D'Avenant in 1656 invented a new species of entertainment, which was exhibited at Rutland House, at the upper end of Aldersgate Street. The title of the piece, which was printed in the same year, is, *The Siege of Rhodes, made a Representation by the Art of prospective in Scenes ; and the Story sung in recitative Musick*. "The original of this musick," says Dryden, "and of the *scenes* which adorned his work, he had from the Italian operas ;⁷ but he heightened his characters (as I may probably imagine) from the examples of Corneille and some French poets." If sixty years before, the exhibition of the plays of Shakspeare had been aided on the common stage by the advantage of moveable scenes, or if the term *scene* had been familiar to D'Avenant's audience, can we suppose that he would have found it necessary to use a periphrastick description, and to promise that his representation should be assisted by *the art of prospective in scenes* ? "It has been often wished," says he, in his Address to the Reader, "that our *scenes* (we having obliged ourselves to the variety of *five changes*, according to the ancient dramatick distinctions made for time,) had not been confined to about eleven feet in the height and about fifteen in depth, including the places of passage reserved for the musick." From these words we learn that he had in that piece five scenes. In 1658 he exhibited at the old theatre called the Cockpit in Drury Lane, *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, express'd by vocal and instrumental Musick, and by Art of per-*

⁷ Fleckno, in the preface to his comedy entitled *Demoiselles a-la-Mode*, 1667, observes, that "one *Italian scene* with four doors will do" for the representation.

spective *in* Scenes.⁸ In spring 1662, having obtained a patent from King Charles the Second, and built a new playhouse in Lincoln's Inn Fields, he opened his theatre with *The First Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, which since its first exhibition he had enlarged. He afterwards in the same year exhibited *The Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, and his comedy called *The Wits*; "these plays," says Downes, who himself acted in *The Siege of Rhodes*, "having new *scenes* and decorations, being *the first* that ever were introduced in England." Scenes had certainly been used before in the masques at Court, and in a few private exhibitions, and by D'Avenant himself in his attempts at theatrical

⁸ In "The Publick Intelligencer, communicating the chief occurrences and proceedings within the dominions of England, Scotland, and Wales, from Monday, December 20, to Monday, December 27, 1658," I find the following notice taken of D'Avenant's exhibition by the new Protector, Richard:

"Whitehall, December 23.

"A course is ordered for taking into consideration the *Opera*, shewed at the Cockpitt in Drury Lane, and the persons to whom it stands referred, are to send for the poet and actors, and to inform themselves of the nature of the work, and to examine by what authority the same is exposed to publick view; and they are also to take the best information they can, concerning the acting of stage-playes, and upon the whole to make report," &c.

The Saints are equally averse to every other species of festivity as well as the *Opera*, and considered holydays, the common prayer-book, and a play-book, as equally pernicious; for in the same paper I find this notification:

"It was ordered by his Highness the Lord Protector and the Council, that effectual letters be written to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, and to the Justices of peace for Westminster and the liberties thereof, Middlesex and Borough of Southwark, to use their endeavour for abolishing the use of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and other feasts called holydaies; as also for preventing the use of the common prayer-book."

entertainments shortly before the death of Cromwell : Downes therefore, who is extremely inaccurate in his language in every part of his book, must have meant—the first ever exhibited in a *regular drama, on a publick theatre*.

I have said that I could produce the testimony of Sir William D'Avenant himself on this subject. His prologue to *The Wits*, which was exhibited in the spring of the year 1662, soon after the opening of his theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, if every other document had perished, would prove decisively that our author's plays had not the assistance of painted scenes. "There are some, says D'Avenant,

" — who would the world persuade,
 " That gold is better when the stamp is bad ;
 " And that an *ugly ragged* piece of eight
 " Is ever true in metal and in weight ;
 " As if a guinny and louis had less
 " Intrinſick value for their handſomeness.
 " So diverse, who outlive the former age,
 " Allow⁹ the coarseness of the *plain old stage*,
 " And think rich vests and *scenes* are only fit
 " Disguises for the want of art and wit."

And no less decisive is the different language of the licence for erecting a theatre, granted to him by King Charles I. in 1639, and the letters patent which he obtained from his son in 1662. In the former, after he is authorized "to entertain, govern, privilege, and keep such and so many players to exercise action, musical presentments, scenes, dancing, and the like, as he the said William Davenant shall think fit and approve for the said house, and such persons to permit and continue at and

⁹ i. e. approve.

during the pleasure of the said W. D. to act plays in such house so to be by him erected, and exercise musick, musical presentments, scenes, dancing, or other the like, at the same or other hours, or times, or after plays are ended,"—the clause which empowers him to take certain prices from those who should resort to his theatre runs thus :

" And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said W. D. &c. to take and receive of such our subjects as shall resort to see or hear any such *plays, scenes, and entertainments* whatsoever, such sum or sums of money, as is or hereafter from time to time shall be accustomed to be given or taken in other playhouses and places for the like plays, scenes, presentments, and entertainments."

Here we see that when the theatre was fitted up in the usual way of that time without the decoration of scenery, (for *scenes* in the foregoing passages mean, not paintings, but short stage-representations or presentments,) the usual prices were authorized to be taken : but after the Restoration, when Sir W. D'Avenant furnished his new theatre with scenery, he took care that the letters patent which he then obtained, should speak a different language, for there the corresponding clause is as follows :

" And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Sir William D'Avenant, his heirs, and assigns, to take and receive of such of our subjects as shall resort to see or hear any such plays, scenes, and entertainments whatsoever, such sum or sums of money, as either have accustomedly been given and taken in the like kind, or as shall be thought reasonable by him or them, in regard of the great expences of *SCENES*, musick, and such new decorations *as have not been formerly used.*"

Here for the first time in these letters patent the word *scene* is used in that sense in which Sir William had employed it in the printed title-pages of his musical entertainments exhibited a few years before. In the former letters patent granted in 1639, the word in that sense does not once occur.

To the testimony of D'Avenant himself may be added that of Dryden, both in the passage already quoted, and in his prologue to *The Rival Ladies*, performed at the King's theatre in 1664 :

“ ——— in former days
 “ Good prologues were as scarce as now good plays.—
 “ You now have habits, dances, *scenes*, and rhymes ;
 “ High language often, ay, and sense sometimes.”

And still more express is that of the author of *The Generous Enemies*, exhibited at the King's Theatre in 1672 :

“ I cannot choose but laugh, when I look back and see
 “ The strange vicissitudes of poetrie.
 “ Your aged fathers came to plays for wit,
 “ And sat knee-deep in nutshells in the pit ;
 “ *Coarse hangings then, instead of scenes were worn,*
 “ *And Kidderminster did the stage adorn :*
 “ But you, their wiser offspring, did advance
 “ To plot of jig, and to dramatick dance,”¹ &c.

¹ This explains what Dryden means in his prologue to *The Rival Ladies*, quoted above, where, with *scenes* and the other novelties introduced after the Restoration, he mentions *dance*. A dance by a *boy* was not uncommon in Shakspeare's time ; but such dances as were exhibited at the Duke's and King's theatre, which are here called *dramatick dances*, were unknown.

The following prologue to *Tunbridge Wells*, acted at the duke's theatre, and printed in 1678, is more diffuse upon this subject, and confirms what has been stated in the text :

“ The old English stage, confin'd to plot and sense,
 “ Did hold abroad some small intelligence ;
 “ But since the invasion of the foreign *scene*,
 “ Jack-pudding farce, and thundering machine,

These are not the speculations of scholars concerning a custom of a former age, but the testimony of persons who were either spectators of what they describe, or daily conversed with those who

“ Dainties to your grave ancestors unknown,
 “ Who never dislik’d wit because their own,
 “ There’s not a player but is turn’d a scout,
 “ And every scribbler sends his envoys out,
 “ To fetch from Paris, Venice, or from Rome,
 “ Fantastick fopperies, to please at home.
 “ And that each act may rise to your desire,
 “ Devils and witches must each scene inspire;
 “ Wit rowls in waves, and showers down in fire.
 “ With what strange ease a play may now be writ!
 “ When the best half’s compos’d by *painting* it,
 “ And that in the air or dance lies all the wit.
 “ True sense or plot would fooleries appear
 “ Faults, I suppose, you seldom meet with here,
 “ For ’tis no mode to profit by the ear.
 “ Your souls, we know, are seated in your eyes;
 “ An actress in a cloud’s a strange surprise,
 “ And you ne’er pay’d treble prices to be wise.”

The French theatre, as we learn from Scaliger, was not furnished with scenes, or even with the ornaments of tapestry, in the year 1561. See Scaliger. *Poetices*, folio, 1561, Lib. I. c. xxi. Both it, however, and the Italian stage, appear to have had the decoration of scenery before the English. In 1638 was published at Ravenna—*Pratica di fabbricar Scene e machine ne’teatri*, di Nicola Sabbatini da Pesaro. With respect to the French stage, see D’Avenant’s prologue to *The Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, 1663:

“ — many travellers here as judges come,
 “ From Paris, Florence, Venice, and from Rome;
 “ Who will describe, when any *scene* we draw,
 “ By each of ours all that they ever saw:
 “ Those praising for extensive breadth and height,
 “ An inward distance to deceive the sight.”

It is said in the Life of Betterton, that “ he was sent to Paris by King Charles the Second to take a view of the French theatre, that he might better judge of what might contribute to the improvement of our own.” He went to Paris probably in the year 1666, when both the London theatres were shut.

had trod our ancient stage: for D'Avenant's first play, *The Cruel Brother*, was acted at the Blackfriars in January, 1626-7, and Mohun and Hart, who had themselves acted before the civil wars, were employed in that company, by whose immediate successors *The Generous Enemies* was exhibited: I mean the King's Servants. Major Mohun acted in the piece before which the lines last quoted were spoken.

I may add also, that Mr. Wright, the author of *Historia Histrionica*, whose father had been a spectator of several plays before the breaking out of the civil wars, expressly says, that the theatre had *no scenes*.²

But, says Mr. Steevens, (who differs with me in opinion on the subject before us, and whose sentiments I shall give below,) "how happened it, that Shakspeare himself should have mentioned the act of *shifting scenes*, if in his time there were no scenes capable of being *shifted*?" Thus, in the Chorus to *King Henry V*:

'Unto Southampton do we *shift our scene*.'

"This phrase" (he adds "was hardly more ancient than the custom it describes."³

² "Shakspeare, (who as I have heard, was a much better poet than player,) Burbage, Hemmings, and others of the older sort, were dead before I knew the town; but in my time, *before the wars*, Lowin used to act Falstaffe," &c.—"Though the town was then not much more than half so populous as now, yet then the prices were small, (*there being no scenes*,) and better order kept among the company that came." *Historia Histrionica*, 8vo. 1699. This Essay is in the form of a dialogue between *Trueman*, an old Cavalier, and *Lovewit*, his friend.

The account of the old stage, which is given by the Cavalier, Wright probably derived from his father, who was born in 1611, and was himself a dramattick writer.

Who does not see, that Shakspeare in the passage here quoted uses the word *scene* in the same sense in which it was used two thousand years before he was born; that is, for the place of action represented by the stage; and not for that moveable hanging or painted cloth, strained on a wooden frame, or rolled round a cylinder, which is now called a SCENE? If the smallest doubt could be entertained of his meaning, the following lines in the same play would remove it:

“ The king is set from London, and the *scene*
“ Is now *transported* to Southampton.”

This, and this only, was the *shifting* that was meant; a movement from one place to another in the progress of the drama; nor is there found a single passage in his plays in which the word *scene* is used in the sense required to support the argument of those who suppose that the common stages were furnished with moveable scenes in his time. He constantly uses the word either for a stage-exhibition in general, or the component part of a play, or the place of action represented by the stage:⁴

³ See Mr. Steevens's Shakspeare, 1785, *King John*, p. 56, n. 7.

⁴ And so do all the other dramatick writers of his time. So, in Heywood's *Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*, 1601:

“ ——— I only mean——

“ Myself in person to present some *scenes*

“ Of tragick matter, or perchance of mirth.”

Again, in the prologue to *Ram-Alley, or Merry Tricks*, a comedy, 1611:

“ But if conceit, with *quick-turn'd sceanes*,—

“ May win your favours,——.”

Again, in the prologue to *The Late Lancashire Witches*, 1634:

- " For all my life has been but as a *scene*
 " Acting that argument." *King Henry IV. Part II.*
 " At your industrious *scenes* and acts of death."
King John.
 " What *scene* of death hath Roscius now to act?"
King Henry VI. Part III.
 " Thus with imagin'd wing our swift *scene* flies,—."
King Henry V.
 " To give our *scene* such growing,—." *Ibid.*
 " And so our *scene* must to the battle fly,—." *Ibid.*
 " That he might play the woman in the *scene*."
Coriolanus.
 " A queen in jest, only to fill the *scene*."
King Richard III.

I shall add but one more instance from *All's well that ends well* :

- " Our *scene* is alter'd from a serious thing,
 " And now *chang'd* to the Beggar and the King."

from which lines it might, I conceive, be as reasonably inferred that *scenes* were *changed* in Shakespeare's time, as from the passage relied on in *King Henry V.* and perhaps by the same mode of

- " ——— we are forc'd from our own nation
 " To ground the *scene* that's now in agitation."

Again, in the prologue to Shirley's *School of Compliments*, 1629 :

- " ————— This play is
 " The first fruits of a muse, that before this
 " Never saluted audience, nor doth meane
 " To swear himself a factor for the *scene*."

Again, in the prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, 1637 :

- " The places sometimes *chang'd* too for the *scene*,
 " Which is translated as the musick plays," &c.

Here *translating a scene* means just the same as *shifting a scene* in *King Henry V.*

I forbear to add more instances, though almost every one of our old plays would furnish me with many.

reasoning it might be proved, from a line above quoted from the same play, that the technical modern term, *wings*, or *side-scenes*, was not unknown to our great poet.

The various circumstances which I have stated, and the accounts of the contemporary writers,⁵

⁵ All the writers on the ancient English stage that I have met with, concur with those quoted in the text on this subject: "Now for the difference betwixt our theatres and those of former times," (says Fleckno, who lived near enough the time to be accurately informed,) "they were but plain and simple, *with no other scenes nor decorations of the stages, but only old tapestry*, and the stage strewed with rushes; with their habits accordingly." *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, 1664. In a subsequent passage indeed he adds, "For scenes and machines, they are no new invention; our masques, and *some of our playes*, in former times, (though not so ordinary,) having had as good or rather better, than any we have now."—To reconcile this passage with the foregoing, the author must be supposed to speak here, not of the exhibitions at the publick theatres, but of masques and *private* plays, performed either at court or at noblemen's houses. He does not say, "some of our *theatres*,"—but, "our masques, and some of our *playes* having had," &c. We have already seen that *Love's Mistress or the Queen's Masque* was exhibited with scenes at Denmark-house in 1636. In the reign of King Charles I. the performance of plays at court, and at private houses, seems to have been very common; and gentlemen went to great expence in these exhibitions. See a letter from Mr. Garrard to Lord Strafford, dated Feb. 7, 1637; *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. II. p. 150: "Two of the king's servants, privy-chamber men both, have writ each of them a play, Sir John Sutlin [Suckling,] and Will. Barclay, which have been acted in court, and at the Blackfriars, with much applause. Sutlin's play cost *three or four hundred pounds* setting out: eight or ten suits of new cloaths he gave the players: an unheard-of prodigality." The play on which Sir John Suckling expended this large sum, was *Aglaure*.

To the authority of Fleckno may be added that of Edward Phillips, who, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1674, [article, D'Avenant,] praises the poet for "the great fluency of his wit and fancy, especially for what he wrote for the English stage, of which, having laid the foundation before by his musical dramas,

furnish us, in my apprehension, with decisive and incontrovertible proofs,⁶ that the stage of Shak-

when the usual plays were not suffered to be acted, *he was the first reviver and improver, by painted scenes.*" Wright also, who was well acquainted with the history of our ancient stage, and had certainly conversed with many persons who had seen theatrical performances before the civil wars, expressly says, as I have observed above, that "*scenes were first introduced by Sir William D'Avenant, on the publick stage, at the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-fields.*"—"Presently after the Restoration," this writer informs us, "the king's players acted publicly at the Red Bull for some time, and then removed to a new-built playhouse in Vere-street, by Clare-market. There they continued for a year or two, and then removed to the theatre-royal in Drury-lane, where they *first* made use of SCENES, which had been a little before introduced UPON THE PUBLICK STAGE by Sir W. D'Avenant at the Duke's old theatre in Liucoln's-Inn-fields, but afterwards very much improved, with the addition of curious machines, by Mr. Betterton, at the new theatre in Dorset Gardens, to the great expence and continual charge of the players." *Historia Histrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 10. Wright calls it the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, though in fact in 1663 it was a new building, because when he wrote, it had become old, and a new theatre had been built in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields in 1695. He is here speaking of *plays and players*, and therefore makes no account of the musical entertainments exhibited by D'Avenant a few years before at Rutland House, and at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane, in which a little attempt at scenery had been made. In those pieces, I believe, no stage-player performed.

⁶ I subjoin the sentiments of Mr. Steevens, who differs with me in opinion on this subject; observing only that in general the passages to which he alludes, prove only that our author's plays were not exhibited without the aid of *machinery*, which is not denied; and that not a single passage is quoted, which proves that a moveable painted scene was employed in any of his plays in his theatre. The lines quoted from *The Staple of News*, at the bottom of p. 110, must have been transcribed from some incorrect edition, for the original copy, printed in 1631, reads—SCENE, not SCENES; a variation of some importance. The words—"the various shifting of their SCENE," denote, in my apprehension, nothing more than *frequent change of place in the progress of the drama*: and even if that were not the case, and these words were used in the modern sense, they would not

Shakespeare was not furnished with *moveable painted scenes*, but merely decorated with curtains, and

prove that scenes were employed on the stage in *Shakspeare's* time, for *The Staple of News* was not exhibited till March, 1625-6.

“ It must be acknowledged,” says Mr. Steevens, “ that little more is advanced on the occasion, than is fairly supported by the testimony of contemporary writers.

“ Were we, however, to reason on such a part of the subject as is now before us, some suspicions might arise, that where machinery was discovered, the less complicated adjunct of scenes was scarcely wanting. When the column is found standing, no one will suppose but that it was once accompanied by its usual entablature. If this inference be natural, little impropriety can be complained of in one of the stage-directions above-mentioned. Where the bed is introduced, the scene of a bed-chamber (a thing too common to deserve description) would of course be at hand. Neither should any great stress be laid on the words of Sir Philip Sidney. Are we not still obliged to receive the stage alternately as a garden, as an ocean, as a range of rocks, or as a cavern? With all our modern advantages, so much of *vraisemblance* is wanting in a theatre, that the apologies which Shakspeare offers for scenical deficiency, are still in some degree needful; and be it always remembered, that Sir Philip Sidney has not positively declared that *no* painted scenes were in use. Who that mentions the present stage, would think it necessary to dwell on the article of scenery, unless it were peculiarly striking and magnificent? Sir Philip has not spoken of stage-habits, and are we therefore to suppose that none were worn? Besides, between the time when Sir Philip wrote his *Defence of Poesy*, and the period at which the plays of Shakspeare were presented, the stage in all probability had received much additional embellishment. Let me repeat, that if in 1529 (the date of *Acolastus*) machinery * is known to have existed, in 1592 (when Shakspeare commenced a play-wright) a greater number of ornaments might naturally be expected, as it is usual for one improvement to be soon followed by another. That the plays of

* What happy deceptions could be produced by the aid of framework and painted canvas, we may learn from Holinshed, and yet more ancient historians. The pageants and tournaments at the beginning of Henry VIIIth's reign very frequently required that the castles of imaginary beings should be exhibited. Of such contrivances some descriptions remain. These extempore buildings afforded a natural introduction to scenery on the stage.

arras or tapestry hangings, which, when decayed,

Shakspeare were exhibited with the aid of *machinery*, the following stage-directions, copied from the folio 1623, will abundantly prove. In *The Tempest*, Ariel is said to enter 'like a harpy, claps his wings on the table, and with a quaint device the banquet vanishes.' In a subsequent scene of the same play, Juno 'descends:' and in *Cymbeline*, Jupiter 'descends likewise, in thunder and lightning, sitting upon an eagle.' In *Macbeth*, 'the cauldron *sinks*, and the apparitions *rise*.' It may be added, that the dialogue of Shakspeare has such perpetual reference to objects supposed visible to the audience, that the want of scenery could not have failed to render many of the descriptions uttered by his speakers absurd and laughable.—Macduff examines the outside of Inverness castle with such minuteness, that he distinguishes even the nests which the martins had built under the projecting parts of its roof.—Romeo, standing in a garden, points to the tops of fruit-trees gilded by the moon.—The prologue-speaker to *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* expressly shows the spectators 'this worm-eaten hold of ragged stone,' in which Northumberland was lodged. Jachimo takes the most exact inventory of every article in Imogen's bedchamber, from the filk and silver of which her tapestry was wrought, down to the Cupids that support her andirons. Had not the inside of this apartment, with its proper furniture, been represented, how ridiculous must the action of Jachimo have appeared! He must have stood looking out of the room for the particulars supposed to be visible within it. In one of the parts of *King Henry VI.* a cannon is discharged against a tower; and conversations are held in almost every scene from different walls, turrets, and battlements. Nor is my belief in ancient scenery entirely founded on conjecture. In the folio edition of Shakspeare's plays, 1623, the following traces of it are preserved. In *King John*: 'Enter, before Angiers, Philip king of France,' &c.—'Enter a citizen upon the walls.'—Enter the herald of France with trumpets *to the gates*.—'Enter Arthur on the walls.'—In *King Henry V.* 'Enter the king, &c. with scaling ladders at Harfleur.'—'Enter the king with all his train before the gates.' In *King Henry VI.* 'Enter to the protector at the Tower gates,' &c.—'Enter Salisbury and Talbot on the walls.'—'The French leap over the walls in their shirts.'—'Enter Pucelle on the top of the tower, thrusting out a torch burning.'—'Enter lord Scales upon the tower, walking. Then enter two or three citizens below.'—'Enter King and Queen and Somerset on the terrace.'—'Enter three watchmen to guard

appear to have been sometimes ornamented with

the King's tent. In *Coriolanus*: 'Marcius follows them *to the gates, and is shut in.*' In *Timon*: 'Enter Timon *in the woods.*'* — 'Enter Timon *from his cave.*' In *Julius Cæsar*: 'Enter Brutus *in his orchard,*' &c. &c.—In short, without characteristic discriminations of place, the historical dramas of Shakspeare in particular, would have been wrapped in tenfold confusion and obscurity; nor could the spectator have felt the poet's power, or accompanied his rapid transitions from one situation to another, without such guides as painted canvas only could supply. The audience would with difficulty have received the catastrophe of *Romeo and Juliet* as natural and affecting, unless the deception was confirmed to them by the appearance of a tomb. The managers who could raise ghosts, bid the cauldron sink into the earth, and then exhibit a train of royal phantoms in *Macbeth*, could with less difficulty supply the flat paintings of a cavern or a grove. The artists who can put the dragons of Medea in motion, can more easily represent the clouds through which they are to pass. But for these, or such assistances, the spectator, like Hamlet's mother, must have bent his gaze on mortifying vacancy; and with the guest invited by the Barmecide, in the Arabian tale, must have furnished from his own imagination the entertainment of which his eyes were solicited to partake.

"It should likewise be remembered, that the intervention of civil war would easily occasion many customs of our early theatres to be silently forgotten. The times when Wright and Downes produced their respective narratives, were by no means times of exactness or curiosity. What they heard might have been heard imperfectly; it might have been unskilfully related; or their own memories might have deceived them:

'Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura.'

"One assertion made by the latter of these writers, is chronologically disproved. We may remark, likewise, that in *private* theatres, a part of the audience was admitted on the stage,

* Apemantus must have pointed to the scenes as he spoke the following lines:

"———shame not *these* woods,

"By putting on the cunning of a carper."

Again:

"———will *these* moist trees

"That have outliv'd the eagle," &c.

A piece of old tapestry must have been regarded as a poor substitute for these towering shades.

pictures ;⁷ and some passages in our old dramas

but that this licence was refused in the *publick* playhouses. To what circumstance shall we impute this difference between the customs of the one and the other ? Perhaps the *private* theatres had no scenes, the *publick* had ; and a crowded stage would prevent them from being commodiously beheld, or conveniently shifted.* The *fresh pictures* mentioned by Ben Jonson in the Induction to his *Cynthia's Revels*, might be properly introduced to cover old tapestry ; for to hang pictures over faded arras, was then and is still sufficiently common in antiquated mansions, such as those in which the scenes of dramatick writers are often laid. That Shakspeare himself was no stranger to the magick of theatrical ornaments, may be inferred from a passage in which he alludes to the scenery of *pageants*, the fashionable shows of his time :

“ Sometimes we see a cloud that's dragonish,
 “ A vapour sometimes like a lion, a bear,
 “ A towred citadel, a pendent rock,
 “ A forked mountain, or blue promontory
 “ With trees upon't, that nod unto the world,
 “ And mock our eyes with air ;—these thou hast seen,
 “ They are black Vesper's *pageants*.”†

Antony and Cleopatra.

“ To conclude, the richest and most expensive scenes had been introduced to dress up those spurious children of the Muse called Masques ; nor have we sufficient reason for believing that Tragedy, her legitimate offspring, continued to be exposed in rags, while appendages more suitable to her dignity were known to be within the reach of our ancient managers. Shakspeare, Bur-

* To *shift a scene* is at least a phrase employed by Shakspeare himself in *King Henry V* :

“ ————— and not till then
 “ Unto Southampton do we *shift our scene*.”

and by Ben Jonson, yet more appositely, in *The Staple of News* :

“ *Lic.* Have you no news o'the stage ?
 “ *Tho.* O yes ;
 “ There is a legacy left to the king's players,
 “ Both for their *various shifting of the scenes*,
 “ And dextrous change of their persons to all shapes
 “ And all disguises,” &c.

† After a pageant had passed through the streets, the characters that composed it were assembled in some hall or other spacious apartment, where they delivered their respective speeches, and were finally set out to view with the advantages of proper scenery and decoration.

incline me to think, that when tragedies were performed, the stage was hung with black.⁸

In the early part, at least, of our author's acquaintance with the theatre, the want of scenery seems to have been supplied by the simple expedient of writing the names of the different places where the scene was laid in the progress of the play, which were disposed in such a manner as to be visible to the audience.⁹

bage, and Condell must have had frequent opportunities of being acquainted with the mode in which both masques, tragedies, and comedies, were represented in the inns of court, the halls of noblemen, and in the palace itself."

⁷ "Sir Crack, I am none of your fresh pictures, that use to beautify the decayed old arras, in a publick theatre." Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonson, 1601.

⁸ In the Induction to an old tragedy called *A Warning for fair Women*, 1599, three personages are introduced, under the names of *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, and *History*. After some contest for superiority, *Tragedy* prevails; and *History* and *Comedy* retire with these words:

"*Hist.* Look, *Comedie*, I mark'd it not till now,
 " *The stage is hung with blacke*, and I perceive
 " The auditors prepar'd for *tragedie*.
 " *Com.* Nay then, I see she shall be entertain'd.
 " These ornaments be seem not thee and me;
 " Then *Tragedie*, kill them to-day with sorrow,
 " We'll make them laugh with mirthful jests to-morrow."

So, in Marston's *Insatiate Countess*, 1613;

"The stage of heaven is hung with solemn black,
 " A time best fitting to act *tragedies*."

Again, in Daniel's *Civil Warres*, Book V. 1602.:

"Let her be made the *sable stage*, whereon
 " Shall first be acted bloody *tragedies*."

Again, in *King Henry VI.* Part I:

"Hung be the heavens with *black*," &c.

Again, more appositely, in *The Rape of Lucrece*, 1594:

"*Black stage* for *tragedies*, and murders fell."

⁹ "What child is there, that coming to a play and seeing *Thebes* written upon an old door, doth believe that it is *Thebes*?" *Defence of Poesie*, by Sir Philip Sidney. Signat. G. 1595.

Though the apparatus for theatrick exhibitions was thus scanty, and the machinery of the simplest kind, the invention of trap-doors appears not to be modern; for in an old Morality, entitled, *All for Money*, we find a marginal direction, which implies that they were very early in use.²

We learn from Heywood's *Apology for Actors*,³ that the covering, or internal roof, of the stage, was anciently termed *the heavens*. It was probably painted of a sky-blue colour; or perhaps pieces of drapery tinged with blue were suspended across the stage, to represent the heavens.

It appears from the stage-directions⁴ given in

When D'Avenant introduced scenes on the publick stage, this ancient practice was still followed. See his Introduction to his *Siege of Rhodes*, 1656: "In the middle of the freeze was a compartment, wherein was written—RHODES."

² "Here—with some fine conveyance, *Pleasure* shall appear from *beneathe*." *All for Money*, 1578.

So, in Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, 1602:

"Enter Balurdo *from under the stage*."

In the fourth Act of *Macbeth* several apparitions arise from beneath the stage, and again descend.—The cauldron likewise sinks:

"Why *sinks* that cauldron, and what noise is this?"

In *The Roaring Girl*, a comedy, by Middleton and Decker, 1611, there is a character called *Trap-door*.

³ *Apology for Actors*, 1612. Signat. D.

⁴ *Spanish Tragedy*, 1610, Act IV. Signat. L:

"Enter Hieronimo. *He knocks up the curtain*."

"Enter the duke of Castile."

"Cast. How now Hieronimo, where's your fellows,

"That you take all this pains?"

"Hiero. O, fir, it is for the author's credit

"To look that all things may go well.

"But, good my lord, let me entreat your grace,

"To give the king the copy of the play.

"This is the argument of what we shew.

"Cast. I will, Hieronimo."

The Spanish Tragedy, that when a play was exhibited within a play, (if I may so express myself,) as is the case in that piece and in *Hamlet*, the court or audience before whom the interlude was performed sat in the balcony, or upper stage already described; and a curtain or traverse being hung across the stage *for the nonce*, the performers entered between that curtain and the general audience, and on its being drawn, began their piece, addressing themselves to the balcony, and regardless of the spectators in the theatre, to whom their backs must have been turned during the whole of the performance.

From a plate prefixed to Kirkman's *Drolls*, printed in 1672, in which there is a view of a theatrical booth, it should seem that the stage was formerly lighted by two large branches, of a form similar to those now hung in churches; and from Beaumont's Verses prefixed to Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, which was acted before the year 1611, we find that wax lights were used.⁵

These branches having been found inconvenient, as they obstructed the sight of the spectators,⁶

“ *Hiero.* Let me entreat your grace, that when

“ *The train are past into the gallery,*

“ You would vouchsafe to throw me down the key.

“ *Cast.* I will, Hieronimo.

“ *Enter Balthazar, with a chair.*

“ *Hiero.* Well done, Balthazar; hang up the tilt:

“ Our scene is Rhodes. What, is your beard on?”

Afterwards the tragedy of *Solyman and Perseda* is exhibited before the King of Spain, the Duke of Castile, &c.

⁵ “ Some like, if the *wax lights* be new that day.”

⁶ Fleckno in 1664, complains of the bad lighting of the stage, even at that time: “ Of this curious art [scenery] the Italians (this latter age) are the greatest masters; the French good proficient; and we in England only scholars and learners yet, having

gave place at a subsequent period to small circular wooden frames, furnished with candles, eight of which were hung on the stage, four at either side: and these within a few years were wholly removed by Mr. Garrick, who, on his return from France in 1765, first introduced the present commodious method of illuminating the stage by lights not visible to the audience.

The body of the house was illuminated by cressets,⁶ or large open lanterns of nearly the same size with those which are fixed in the poop of a ship.

If all the players whose names are enumerated in the first folio edition of our author's works, belonged to the same theatre, they composed a numerous company; but it is doubtful whether they all performed at the same period, or always continued in the same house.⁷ Many of the companies, in

proceeded no farther than to bare painting, and not arrived to the stupendous wonders of your great ingeniers; especially *not knowing yet how to place our lights, for the more advantage and illuminating of the scenes.*" *Short Discourse of the English Stage.*

⁶ See Cotgrave's *French Dictionary*, 1611, in v. *Falot*: "A cresset light, (such as they use in playhouses,) made of ropes wreathed, pitched, and put into small and open cages of iron."

The Watchmen of London carried cressets fixed on poles till 1539 (and perhaps later). See Stowe's *Survey*, p. 160, edit. 1618.

⁷ An actor, who wrote a pamphlet against Mr. Pope, soon after the publication of his edition of Shakspeare, says, he could prove that they belonged to several different companies. It appears from the MS. Register of Lord Stanhope, treasurer of the chamber to King James I. that *Joseph Taylor*, in 1613, was at the head of a distinct company from that of *Heminge* called the Lady Elizabeth's servants, who then acted at *the Hope* on the Bankside. He was probably, however, before that period, of the King's Company, of which afterwards he was a principal ornament. Some of the players too, whose names are prefixed to the first folio edition of our author, were dead in the year

the infancy of the stage, certainly were so thin, that the same person played two or three parts;⁸ and a battle on which the fate of an empire was supposed to depend, was decided by half a dozen combatants.⁹ It appears to have been a common practice in their mock engagements, to discharge small pieces of ordnance on or behind the stage.¹

Before the exhibition began, three flourishes were played, or, in the ancient language, there were three foundings.² Musick was likewise played be-

1600, or soon after; and others there enumerated, might have appeared at a subsequent period, to supply their loss. See *The Catalogue of Actors*, post.

⁸ In the Induction to Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, 1602, Piero asks Alberto what part he acts. He replies, "the necessity of the play forceth me to act *two parts*." See also the *Dramatis Personæ* of many of our ancient plays; and below, p. 122, n. 6.

⁹ "And so our scene must to the battle fly,
"Where, O for pity! we shall much disgrace
"With four or five most vile and ragged foils,
"Right ill dispos'd, in brawl ridiculous,
"The name of Agincourt." *King Henry V.* Act IV.

¹ "Much like to some of the players that come to the scaffold with drumme and trumpet, to proffer skirmish, and when they have sounded alarme, off go the pieces, to encounter a shadow, or conquer a paper monster." *Schoole of Abuse*, by Stephen Gosson, 1579.

So, in *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henrie the Sixt*, 1600: "Alarmes to the battaile.—York flies; then *the chambers be discharged*; then enter the king," &c.

² Come, let's bethink ourselves, what may be found
"To deceive time with, till the *second sound*."

Notes from Black-fryars, by H. Fitz-Jeffery, 1617.

See also the Address to the readers, prefixed to Decker's *Satiromastix*, a comedy, 1602: "Instead of the *trumpets sounding thrice* before the play begin," &c.

tween the acts.³ The instruments chiefly used, were trumpets, cornets, hautboys, lutes, recorders, viols, and organs.⁴ The band, which, I believe, did not consist of more than eight or ten performers, sat (as I have been told by a very ancient stage-veteran, who had his information from Bowman, the contemporary of Betterton,) in an upper balcony, over what is now called the stage-box.⁵

³ See the prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, a tragedy, 1637 :

“ The places sometimes chang’d too for the scene,

“ Which is translated, as the musick plays

“ Betwixt the acts.”

The practice appears to have prevailed in the infancy of our stage. See the concluding lines of the second Act of *Gammer Gurton’s Needle*, 1575 :

“ In the towne will I, my frendes to vyfit there,

“ And hether straight again, to see the end of this gere :

“ *In the mean time, felowes, pipe upp your fiddles, I*
fay take them,

“ And let your freyndes here such mirth as ye can make
them.”

It has been thought by some that our author’s dramas were exhibited without any pauses, in an unbroken continuity of scenes. But this appears to be a mistake. In a copy of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1599, now before me, which certainly belonged to the playhouse, the endings of the acts are marked in the margin ; and directions are given for musick to be played between each act. The marginal directions in this copy appear to be of a very old date, one of them being in the ancient style and hand—
“ *Playe musicke.*”

⁴ See the stage-directions in Marston’s *Sophonisba*, acted at Blackfriars theatre, in 1606 :

“ The ladies draw the curtains about Sophonisba ;—the *cornets* and *organs* playing loud full musicke for the act. Signat. B 4.

“ *Organ* mixt with *recorders*, for this act. Signat. D 2.

“ *Organs, viols*, and voices, play for this act. Signat. E 2.

“ A base *lute* and a treble viol play for this act.” Signat. F 2.

⁵ In the last scene of Massinger’s *City Madam*, which was first acted at Blackfriars, May 25, 1632, Orpheus is introduced chanting those ravishing strains with which he moved—

From Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript I learn, that the musicians belonging to Shakspeare's company were obliged to pay the Master of the Revels an annual fee for a licence to play in the theatre.⁶

Not very long after our poet's death the Blackfriars' band was more numerous;⁷ and their reputation was so high as to be noticed by Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, in an account which he has left of the splendid Masque given by the four Inns of Court on the second of February, 1633-4, entitled *The Triumph of Peace*, and intended, as he himself informs us, "to manifest the difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne's new learning, and to confute his *Histrionastix* against interludes."

A very particular account of this masque is found in his *Memorials*; but that which Dr. Burney has lately given in his very curious and elegant *History of Musick*,⁸ from a manuscript in the possession of Dr. Moreton, of the British Museum, contains some minute particulars not noticed in the former

"Charon and Cerberus, to give him way

"To fetch from hell his lost Eurydice."

The following stage-direction, which is found in the preceding scene, supports what has been suggested above, concerning the station of the musicians in our ancient theatres: "Musicians *come down*, [i. e. *are to come down*,] to make ready for the song at Arras." This song was to be sung behind the arras.

⁶ "For a warrant to the Musitions of the king's company, this 9th of April, 1627,—£.1. 0. 0." MS. Herbert.

⁷ In a warrant of protection now before me, signed by Sir Henry Herbert, and dated from the Office of the Revels, Dec. 27, 1624, Nicholas Underhill, Robert Pallant, John Rhodes, and seventeen others, are mentioned as being "all imployed by the kings Ma.ties servants in their quallity of playinge as musitions, and other necessary attendants."

See Vol. III. p. 376.

printed account, and among others an eulogy on our poet's band of musicians.

“ For the Musicke,” says Whitelocke, “ which was particularly committed to my charge, I gave to Mr. Ives, and to Mr. Lawes, 100l. a piece for their rewards : for the four French gentlemen, the queen's servants, I thought that a handsome and liberall gratifying of them would be made known to the queen, their mistress, and well taken by her. I therefore invited them one morning to a collation att St. Dunstan's taverne, in the great room, the Oracle of Apollo, where each of them had his plate lay'd by him, covered, and the napkin by it, and when they opened their plates, they found in each of them forty pieces of gould, of their master's coyne, for the first dish, and they had cause to be much pleased with this surprisall.

“ The rest of the musitians had rewards answerable to their parts and qualities ; and the whole charge of the musicke came to about one thousand pounds. The clothes of the horsemen reckoned one with another at £.100 a suit, att the least, amounted to £.10,000.—The charges of all the rest of the masque, which were borne by the societies, were accounted to be above twenty thousand pounds.

“ I was so conversant with the musitians, and so willing to gain their favour, especially at this time, that I composed an aier my selfe, with the assistance of Mr. Ives, and called it *Whitelock's Coranto* ; which being cried up, was first played publicly by the Blackefryars Musicke, *who were then esteemed the best of common musitians in London*. Whenever I came to that house, (as I did sometimes in those dayes, though not often,) to see a play, the musitians would presently play *Whitelocke's Coranto* ;

and it was so often called for, that they would have it played twice or thrice in an afternoone. The queen hearing it, would not be persuaded that it was made by an Englishman, because she said it was fuller of life and spirit than the English aiers used to be; butt she honoured the *Coranto* and the maker of it with her majestyes royall commendation. It grew to that request, that all the common musitians in this towne, and all over the kingdome, gott the composition of itt, and played it publicely in all places for above thirtie years after."

The stage, in Shakspeare's time seems to have been separated from the pit only by pales.⁹ Soon after the Restoration, the band, I imagine, took the station which they have kept ever since, in an orchestra placed between the stage and the pit.¹

- ⁹ " And now that I have vaulted up so hye,
 " Above the *stage-rayles* of this earthen globe,
 " I must turn actor." *Black Booke*, 4to. 1604.

See also D'Avenant's *Playhouse to be let*:

- " Monsieur, you may draw up your troop of forces
 " Within *the pales*."

¹ See the first direction in *The Tempest*, altered by D'Avenant and Dryden, and acted at the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, in 1667:

" The front of the stage is opened, and the band of twenty-four violins, with the harpsicals and theorbos, which accompany the voices, are placed *between the pit and the stage*." If this had not been a novel regulation, the direction would have been unnecessary.

Cotgrave, in his *Dictionary*, 1611, following the idea of ancient Rome, defines *Orchestre*, " The senators' or noblemens' places in a theatre, between the stage and the common seats. Also the stage itself." If musicians had set in this place, when he wrote, or the term *orchestre*, in its present sense, had been then known, there is reason to believe that he would have noticed it. See his interpretation of *Falot*, above, in p. 114, n. 6.

The person who spoke the prologue, who entered immediately after the third founding,² usually wore a long black velvet cloak,³ which, I suppose, was considered as best suited to a supplicatory address. Of this custom, whatever may have been its origin, some traces remained till very lately; a black coat having been, if I mistake not, within these few years, the constant stage-habiliment of our modern prologue-speakers. The complete dress of the ancient prologue-speaker is still retained in the play exhibited in *Hamlet*, before the king and court of Denmark.

The word *orchestre* is not found in Minsheu's *Dict.* nor Bullokar's *Expositor*.

In Cockeram's *Interpreter of hard Words*, 1655, it is defined a *scaffold*.

² "Present not your selfe on the stage, (especially at a new play) untill the quaking *prologue* hath by rubbing got cullor into his cheeks, and is ready to give the *trumpets* their cue, that he's upon the point to enter." Decker's *Gul's Hornebook*, 1609.

³ See the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601:

"1. *Child*. Pray you, away; why children what do you mean?

"2. *Child*. Marry, that you should not speak the prologue.

"1. *Child*. Sir, I plead possession of the *cloak*. Gentlemen, your suffrages, for God's sake."

So, in the prologue to *The Coronation*, by Shirley, 1640:

"Since 'tis become the title of our play,

"A woman once in a coronation may

"With pardon speak the prologue, give as free

"A welcome to the theatre, as he

"That with a little beard, a *long black cloak*,

"With a starch'd face and supple leg, hath spoke

"Before the plays this twelvemonth, let me then

"Present a welcome to these gentlemen."

Again, in the prologue to *The Woman-Hater*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1607: "Gentlemen, inductions are out of date, and a prologue in verse is as stale as a *black velvet cloake*, and a bay garlande."

An epilogue does not appear to have been a regular appendage to a play in Shakspeare's time; for many of his dramas had none; at least, they have not been preserved. In *All's well that ends well*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *As you like it*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *The Tempest*, the epilogue is spoken by one of the persons of the drama, and adapted to the character of the speaker; a circumstance that I have not observed in the epilogues of any other author of that age. The epilogue was not always spoken by one of the performers in the piece; for that subjoined to *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* appears to have been delivered by a dancer.

The performers of male characters frequently wore periwigs⁴ which in the age of Shakspeare were not in common use.⁵ It appears from a pas-

⁴ See *Hamlet*, Act III. sc. ii: "O, it offends me to the soul, to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters."

So, in *Every Woman in her Humour*, 1609: "As none wear hoods but monks and ladies,—and feathers but fore-horses, &c. none periwigs but players and pictures."

⁵ In Hall's *Virgidemiarum*, 1597, Lib. III. Sat. 5, the fashion of wearing periwigs is ridiculed as a novel and fantastick custom:

"Late travailing along in London way,
 "Mee met, as seem'd by his *disguis'd* array,
 "A lustie courtier, whose curled head
 "With abron locks was fairly furnished;
 "I him saluted in our lavish wise;
 "He answers my untimely courtesies.
 "His bonnet veil'd—or ever he could think,
 "The unruly winde blowes off his *periwinke*.
 "He lights and runs, and quickly hath him sped,
 "To over-take his over-running head.—
 "Is't not sweet pride, when men their crownes must
 shade
 "With that which jerks the hams of every jade;

sage in Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, that vizards were on some occasions used by the actors of those days;⁶ and it may be inferred from a scene in one of our author's comedies, that they were sometimes worn in his time, by those who performed female characters.⁷ But this, I imagine, was very rare. Some of the female part of the audience likewise appeared in masks.⁸

“ Or floor-ftrow'd locks from off the barber's shears ?

“ But waxen crownes well gree with borrowed haire.”

⁶ “ ——— partly (says he) to supply the want of players, when there were more parts than there were persons.”

⁷ In *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Flute objects to his playing a woman's part, because he has “ a beard a coming.” But his friend Quince tells him, “ that's all one; you shall play it in a *mask*, and you may speak as small as you will.”

⁸ “ In our assemblies at playes in London, (says Goffon, in his *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579, Signat. C.) you shall see such heaving and shoving, such ytching and should'ring to fitte by women, such care for their garments, that they be not trode on; such eyes to their lappes, that no chippes light in them; such pillows to their backes, that they take no hurte; such *masking* in their ears, I know not what; such giving them pippins to pass the time; such playing at foot-saunte without cardes; such licking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, such manning them home when the sports are ended, that it is a right comedie to mark their behaviour.”

So also, the prologue to Marston's *Fawne*, 1606:

“ ——— nor doth he hope to win

“ Your laud or hand with that most common sin

“ Of vulgar pens, rank bawdry, that smells

“ Even through your *masques*, *usque ad nauseam*.”

Again, in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599:

“ ——— Disguised Messaline,

“ I'll teare thy *maske*, and bare thee to the eyne

“ Of hissing boyes, if to the *theatres*

“ I find thee once more come for lecherers.”

Again, in Ben Jonson's Verses, addressed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdess*:

Both the prompter, or book-holder, as he was sometimes called, and the property-man, appear to have been regular appendages of our ancient theatres.⁹

The stage-dresses, it is reasonable to suppose, were much more costly in some playhouses than others. Yet the wardrobe of even the king's servants at *The Globe* and *Blackfriars* was, we find, but scantily furnished; and our author's dramas derived very little aid from the splendour of exhibition.¹

“ The wise and many-headed bench that fits
 “ Upon the life and death of plays and wits,
 “ Compos'd of gamester, captain, knight, knights man,
 “ Lady or pusil, that wears *maske* or fan,
 “ Velvet or taffata cap, rank'd in the dark
 “ With the shops foreman, or some such brave sparke,
 “ (That may judge for his *six-pence*) had, before
 “ They saw it half, damn'd thy whole play.”

After the Restoration, masks, I believe, were chiefly worn in the theatre, by women of the town. Wright complains of the great number of masks in his time: “ Of late the play-houses are so extremely pestered with vizard-masks and their trade, (occasioning continual quarrels and abuse,) that many of the more civilized part of the town are uneasy in the company, and shun the theatre as they would a house of scandal.” *Hist. Histrion.* 1699, p. 6.

Ladies of unblemished character, however, wore masks in the boxes, in the time of Congreve. In the epilogue to Dufey's comedy called *The Old Mode and the New*, (no date,) the speaker points to the masks in the *side boxes*: but I am not sure whether what are now called the Balconies were not meant.

⁹ “ I assure you, sir, we are not so officiously befriended by him, [the author,] as to have his presence in the tiring-house, to prompt us aloud, stamp at the *book-holder*, swear for our properties, curse the poor *tire-man*, rayle the musicke out of tune,” &c. Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601.

¹ See the Induction to Ben Jonson's *Staple of News*, acted by the king's servants, 1625:

“ O *Curiosity*, you come to see who wears the new suit to-

It is well known, that in the time of Shakspeare, and for many years afterwards, female characters were represented solely by boys or young men. Nashe in a pamphlet published in 1592, speaking in defence of the English stage, *boasts* that the players of his time were “not as the players beyond sea, a sort of squirting bawdie comedians, that have whores and common curtizans to play women’s parts.”² What Nashe considered as an high eulogy on his country, Prynne has made one of his principal charges against the English stage; having employed several pages in his bulky volume, and quoted many hundred authorities, to prove that “those playes wherein any men act women’s parts in woman’s apparell must needs be sinful, yea, abominable unto christians.”³ The grand basis of his argument is a text in scripture; *Deuteronomy*, xxii. 5; “The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto man, neither shall a man put on a woman’s garment :” a precept, which Sir Richard Baker has justly remarked, is

day; whose cloaths are best pen’d, whatever the part be; which actor has the best leg and foot; what king plays *without cuffs*, and his queen *without gloves*: who rides post *in stockings*, and dances *in boots*.”

It is, however, one of Prynne’s arguments against the stage, in the invective which he published about eight years after the date of this piece, that “the ordinary theatrical interludes were usually acted in *over-costly*, effeminate, fantastick, and *gawdy* apparel.” *Histrionastix*. p. 216. But little credit is to be given to that voluminous zealot, on a question of this kind. As the frequenters of the theatre were little better than *incarnate devils*, and the musick in churches the *bleating of brute beasts*, so a piece of coarse stuff trimmed with tinsel was probably in his opinion a most splendid and *ungodly* dress.

² *Pierce Penniless his Supplication of the Devil*, 4to. 1592.

³ *Histrionastix*, 4to. 1633, p. 179.

no part of the moral law, and ought not to be understood literally. "Where," says Sir Richard, "finds he this precept? Even in the same place where he finds also that we must not weare cloaths of linsiey-woolsey: and seeing we lawfully now wear cloathes of linsiey-woolsey, why may it not be as lawful for men to put on women's garments?"⁴

It may perhaps be supposed, that Prynne, having thus vehemently inveighed against men's representing female characters on the stage, would not have been averse to the introduction of women in the scene; but sinful as this zealot thought it in *men* to assume the garments of the other sex, he considered it as not less abominable in *women* to tread the stage in their own proper dress: for he informs us, "that some Frenchwomen, or *monsters* rather, in Michaelmas term, 1629, attempted to act a French play at the playhouse in Blackfriers," which he represents as "an impudent, shameful, unwomanish, graceless, if not more than *whorish* attempt."⁵

⁴ *Theatrum Triumphans*, 8vo. 1670, p. 16. Martin Luther's comment on this text is as follows: "Hic non prohibetur quin ad vitandum periculum, aut ludendum joco, vel ad fallendum hostes mulier possit gerere arma viri, et vir uti veste muliebri; sed ut serio et usitato habitu talia non fiant, ut decora utrique sexui servetur dignitas." And the learned Jesuit, Lorin, concurs with him: "Dissimulatio vestis potest interdum sine peccato fieri, vel ad representandam comice tragiceve personam, vel ad effugiendum periculum, vel in casu simili." *Ibid.* p. 19.

⁵ *Histrionastix*, p. 414. He there calls it only an *attempt*, but in a former page (215) he says, "they have now their female players in Italy and other foreigne parts, as they had such French women actors in a play not long since personated in Blackfriers playhouse, to *which there was great resort*." In the margin he adds—"in Michaelmas terme, 1629." His account

Soon after the period he speaks of, a regular French theatre was established in London, where without doubt women acted.⁶ They had long be-

is confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book, in which I find the following notice of this exhibition:

"For the allowinge of a French company to playe a farse at Blackfryers, this 4 of November, 1629,—£.2. 0. 0.

The same company attempted an exhibition both at the Red Bull and the Fortune theatres, as appears from the following entries:

"For allowinge of the Frenche [company] at the Red Bull for a daye, 22 Novemb. 1629,—[£.2. 0. 0.]

"For allowinge of a Frenche companie att the Fortune to play one afternoone, this 14 Day of Decemb. 1629,—£.1. 0. 0.

"I should have had another peece, but in respect of their ill fortune, I was content to bestow a peece back." MS. Herbert.

Prynne, in conformity to the absurd notions which have been stated in the text, inserted in his Index these words: "*Women actors notorious whores*:" by which he so highly offended the King and Queen, that he was tried in the Star-chamber, and sentenced to be imprisoned for life, fined 5000*l.* expelled Lincoln's Inn, disbarred and disqualified to practise the law, degraded of his degree in the University, to be set on the pillory, his ears cut off, and his book burnt by the common hangman, "which *rigorous* sentence," says Whitelocke, "was as rigorously executed." I quote these words as given by Dr. Burney from Whitelocke's Manuscript. It is remarkable that in his printed MEMORIALS, the word *rigorous* is omitted; for which there is reason to believe that the editor in 1682 took some liberties with the manuscript from which that book was printed. The words there are, "*—which sentence was as severely executed.*"

In p. 708 of Prynne's book is the following note, the insertion of which probably incensed their majesties, who often performed in the court-masques, not less than what has been already mentioned:

"It is *infamous* in this author's judgment [Dion Cassius] for emperors or persons of quality to *dance upon a stage*, or act a play."

⁶ In the Office-book of Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, I find a warrant for payment of 10*l.* "to Josias Floridor for himselfe and the rest of the French players, for a tragedy

fore appeared on the Italian as well as the French stage. When Coryate was at Venice, [July, 1608,]

by them acted before his Majestie in Dec. last." Dated Jan. 8, 1635-6. Their house had been licensed, April 18, 1635. I find also "£.10. paid to John Navarro for himself and the rest of the company of *Spanish* players, for a play presented before his majestie, Dec. 23, 1635.

We have already seen that Henrietta Maria had a precedent for introducing the comedians of her own country into England, King Henry the Seventh having likewise had a company of French players.

Sir Henry Herbert's manuscript furnishes us with the following notices on this subject :

"On tuesday night the 17 of February, 1634, [1634-5,] a Frenche company of players, being aproved of by the queene at her house too nights before, and commended by her majesty to the kinge, were admitted to the Cockpitt in Whitehall, and there presented the king and queene with a Frenche comedy called *Melise*, with good approbation : for which play the king gives them ten pounds.

"This day being Friday, and the 20 of the same monthe, the kinge tould mee his pleasure, and commanded mee to give order that this Frenche company should playe the too sermon daies in the weeke, during their time of playinge in Lent, and in the house of Drury-lane, where the queenes players usually playe.

"The kings pleasure I signified to Mr. Beeston, [the Manager of Drury-lane theatre,] the same day, who obeyd readily.

"The house-keepers are to give them by promise the benefit of their interest for the two days of the first weeke.

"They had the benefitt of playinge on the sermon daies, and gott two hundred pounds at least; besides many rich clothes were given them.

"They had freely to themselves the whole weeke before the weeke before Easter, which I obtaynd of the king for them.

"The 4 Aprill, on Easter monday, they playd the *Trompeur puny*, with better approbation than the other.

"On Wensday night the 16 Aprill, 1635, the French playd *Alcimedor* with good approbation."

In a marginal note Sir Henry Herbert adds, "The Frenche offered mee a present of £.10; but I refused itt, and did them many other curtesys, *gratis*, to render the queene my mistris an acceptable service."

It appears from a subsequent passage, that in the following

he tells us, he was at one of their playhouses, and saw a comedy acted. "The house, (he adds) is very beggarly and base, in comparison of our stately playhouses in England; neither can their actors compare with us for apparell, shewes, and musicke. Here I observed certaine things that I never saw before; for I saw women act, a thing that I never saw before, though I have heard that it hath been some times used in London; and they performed it with as good a grace, action, gesture, and whatsoever convenient for a player, as ever I saw any masculine actor."

month a theatre was erected expressly for this troop of comedians.

"A warrant granted to Josias d'Aunay, Hurfries de Lau, and others, for to act playes at a new house in Drury-lane, during pleasure, ye 5 may, 1635.

"The king was pleased to commande my Lord Chamberlain to direct his warrant to Monsieur Le Fevre, to give him a power to contract with the Frenchemen for to builde a playhouse in the manage-house, which was done accordinglye by my advise and allowance."

"Thes Frenchmen," Sir Henry adds in the margin, "were commended unto mee by the queene, and have past through my handes, *gratis*."

They did not, however, pass quite free, for from a subsequent entry it appears, that "they gave Blagrove [Sir Henry's deputy] three pounds for his paines."

In the following December the French pastoral of *Florimene* was acted at court by the young ladies who attended the Queen from France.

"The pastorall of *Florimene*, (says Sir Henry) with the description of the sceanes and interludes, as it was sent mee by Mr. Inigo Jones, I allowed for the press, this 14 of Decemb. 1635. The pastorall is in French, and 'tis the argument only, put into English, that I have allowed to be printed.

"Le pastorale de *Florimene* fust représenté devant le roy et la royne, le prince Charles, et le prince Palatin, le 21 Decem. jour de St. Thomas, par les filles Françoisse de la royne, et firent tres bien, dans la grande sale de Whitehall, aux depens de la royne." MS. Herbert.

The practice of men's performing the parts of women in the scene is of the highest antiquity. On the Grecian stage no woman certainly ever *acted*. From Plutarch's Life of Phocion, we learn, that in his time (about three hundred and eighteen years before the Christian era) the performance of a tragedy at Athens was interrupted for some time by one of the actors, who was to personate a *queen*, refusing to come on the stage, because he had not a suitable mask and dress, and a train of attendants richly habited; and Demosthenes in one of his orations,⁷ mentions Theodorus and Aristodemus as having often represented the Antigone of Sophocles.⁹

⁷ Coryate's *Crudities*, 4to. 1611, p. 247. I have found no ground for this writer's assertion, that female performers had appeared on the English stage before he wrote.

⁸ De fals. leg. Tom. II. p. 199, edit. Taylor.

⁹ See also Lucian, de Salt. II. 285, edit. Hemsterhusii: "Because (says that lively writer) at first you preferred tragedy and comedy and vagrant fiddlers and singing to the harpe, before dancing, calling them truly exercises, and therefore commendable, let us, I pray, compare them severally with dancing. Where, if it please you, we will pass the pipe and harpe as parts and instruments of dancing, and consider tragedy as it is; first, according to its properties and dress. What a deformed and frightfull sight is it, to see a man raised to a prodigious length, stalking upon exalted buskins, his face disguised with a grimme vizard, widely gaping, as if he meant to devour the spectators? I forbear to speake of his stufte breasts, and fore-bellyes, which make an adventitious and artificial corpulency, lest his unnatural length should carry disproportion to his slenderesse: as also his clamour from within, when he breakes open and unlockes himselfe; when he howles iambicks, and most ridiculously sings his own sufferings, and renders himself by his very tone odious. For as for the rest, they are inventions of ancient poets. Yet as long as he personates only some *Andromache* and *Hecuba*, his singing is tolerable. But for a Hercules to enter dolefully singing, and to forget himself, and neither to regard his Lyons skynne, nor clubbe, must needs appear to any judging man a solecisme. And whereas you dislike that in dancing men should act women;

This fact is also ascertained by an anecdote preserved by Aulus Gellius. A very celebrated actor, whose name was Polus, was appointed to perform the part of Electra in Sophocles's play; who in the progress of the drama appears with an urn in her hands, containing, as she supposes, the ashes of Orestes. The actor having some time before been deprived by death of a beloved son, to indulge his grief, as it should seem, procured the urn which contained the ashes of his child, to be brought from his tomb; which affected him so much, that when he appeared with it on the scene, he embraced it with unfeigned sorrow, and burst into tears.¹

That on the Roman stage also female parts were

this is a reprehension, which holds for tragedies and comedies too, in which are more womens parts, then mens." *Dialogue on Dancing*, translated by Jasper Mayne, folio, 1664.

¹ Histrio in terra Græcia fuit fama celebri, qui gestus et vocis claritudine et venustate cæteris antestabat. Nomen fuisse aiunt Polum; tragœdias poetarum nobilium scite atque asseverate actavit. Is Polus unice amatum filium morte amisit. Eum luctum quum satis visus est eluxisse, rediit ad quæstum artis. In eo tempore Athenis Electram Sophoclis acturus, gestare urnam quasi cum Orestis ossibus debebat. Ita compositum fabulæ argumentum est, ut veluti fratris reliquias ferens Electra compleret commiseraturque interitum ejus, qui per vim extinctus existimatur. Igitur Polus lugubri habitu Electræ indutus ossa atque urnam a sepulchro tulit filii, et quasi Orestis amplexus opplevit omnia non simulachris neque imitamentis, sed luctu atque lamentis veris et spirantibus. Itaque quum agi fabula videretur, dolor accitus est." Aul. Gel. Lib. VII. c. v.

Olivet in a note on one of Cicero's Letters to Atticus, (L. IV. c. xv.) mentions a similar anecdote of a mime called *Seia*, for which he quotes the authority of Plutarch; but no such person is mentioned by that writer. *Seia*, according to Olivet, performed the part of Andromache. I suspect he meant to cite *Petrarch*.—*Seia* probably represented Andromache in a tragick pantomime.

represented by men in tragedy, is ascertained by one of Cicero's letters to Atticus, in which he speaks of Antipho,² who performed the part of Andromache; and by a passage in Horace, who informs us, that Fufius Phocæus being to perform the part of Ilione, the wife of Polymnestor, in a tragedy written either by Accius or Pacuvius, and being in the course of the play to be awakened out of sleep by the cries of the shade of Polydorus, got so drunk, that he fell into a real and profound sleep, from which no noise could rouse him.³

Horace indeed mentions a female performer, called Arbuscula;⁴ but as we find from his own authority that men personated women on the Roman stage, she probably was only an *emboliaria*, who performed in the interludes and dances exhibited between the acts and at the end of the play. Servius⁵ calls her *mima*, but that may mean nothing more than one who acted in the *mimes*, or danced in the pantomime dances;⁶ and this seems the more probable from the manner in which she is mentioned by Cicero, from whom we learn that the part of Andromache was performed by a male actor on

² Epistol. ad Atticum, Lib. IV. c. xv.

³ " Non magis audiuit quam Fufius ebrius olim,
 " Cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis,
 " *Mater te appello, clamantibus.*" Sat. Lib. II. Sat. iii.
 Compare Cicero, *Tusculan.* I. 44.

⁴ " — fatis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut andax
 " Contemptis aliis explosa *Arbuscula* dixit." Lib. I. Sat. x.

⁵ In eclog. x.

⁶ Sunt *Mimi*, ut ait Claudianus, qui lætis salibus facete risum movent; *Pantomimi* vero, ut idem ait, " nutu manibusque loquaces." Vet. Schol.

that very day when Arbuscula exhibited with the highest applause.⁷

The same practice prevailed in the time of the emperors; for in the list of parts which Nero, with a preposterous ambition, acted in the publick theatre, we find that of Canace, who was represented in labour on the stage.⁸

In the interludes exhibited between the acts undoubtedly women appeared. The elder Pliny informs us, that a female named Luccæia acted in these interludes for an hundred years; and Galeria Copiola for above ninety years; having been first introduced on the scene in the fourteenth year of her age, in the year of Rome 672, when Caius Marius the younger, and Cneius Carbo were consuls, and having performed in the 104th year of her age, six years before the death of Augustus, in the consulate of C. Poppæus and Quintus Sulpicius, A. U. C. 762.⁹

Eunuchs also sometimes represented women on the Roman stage, as they do at this day in Italy; for we find that Sporus, who made so conspicuous a figure in the time of Nero, being appointed in the year 70, [A. U. C. 823] to personate a nymph, who, in an interlude exhibited before Vitellius, was to be carried off by a ravisher, rather than endure the indignity of wearing a female dress on the stage, put himself to death:¹ a singular end for one, who about ten years before had been publickly espoused to Nero, in the hy-

⁷ Epistol. ad Atticum, L. IV. c. xv.

⁸ Sueton. in Nerone, c. xxi.

⁹ Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. VIII. c. xlviij.

¹ Xiphilini Vitel. p. 209, edit. H. Stephani, folio, 1592.

menaeal veil, and had been carried through one of the streets of Rome by the side of that monster, in the imperial robes of the empresses, ornamented with a profusion of jewels.

Thus ancient was the usage, which, though not adopted in the neighbouring countries of France and Italy, prevailed in England from the infancy of the stage. The prejudice against women appearing on the scene continued so strong, that till near the time of the Restoration, boys constantly performed female characters: and, strange as it may now appear, the old practice was not deserted without many apologies for the *indecorum* of the novel usage. In 1659 or 1660, in imitation of the foreign theatres, women were first introduced on the scene. In 1656, indeed, Mrs. Coleman, the wife of Mr. Edward Coleman, represented *Ianthe* in the First Part of D'Avenant's *Siege of Rhodes*; but the little she had to say was spoken in recitative. The first woman that appeared in any regular drama on a publick stage, performed the part of Desdemona; but who the lady was, I am unable to ascertain. The play of *Othello* is enumerated by Downes as one of the stock-plays of the king's company on their opening their theatre in Drury Lane in April, 1663; and it appears from a paper found with Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book, and indorsed by him,² that it was one of the stock-plays of the same company from the time they began to play without a patent at the Red Bull in St. John Street. Mrs. Hughes performed the part of Desdemona in 1663, when the company removed to Drury Lane, and obtained

² See the list of plays belonging to the Red Bull, in a subsequent page, *ad ann.* 1660.

the title of the king's servants ; but whether she performed with them while they played at the Red Bull, or in Vere Street, near Clare Market, has not been ascertained. Perhaps Mrs. Saunderson made her first essay there, though she afterwards was enlisted in D'Avenant's company. The received tradition is, that she was the first English actress.³ The verses which were spoken by way of introducing a female to the audience, were written by Thomas Jordan, and being only found in a very scarce miscellany,⁴ I shall here transcribe them :

³ Mrs. Saunderson (afterwards Mrs. Betterton) played Juliet, Ophelia, and, I believe, Cordelia.

It should seem from the 22d line of the Epilogue spoken on the occasion, that the lady who performed Desdemona was an unmarried woman. Mrs. Hughes was married. The principal unmarried actress in the King's company appears to have been Mrs. Marshall, who is said to have been afterwards seduced under a pretence of marriage by Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and who might have been the original female performer of Desdemona. At that time every unmarried woman bore the title of Mistress.

It is said in a book of no authority, (Curl's *History of the Stage*,) and has been repeated in various other compilations, that Mrs. Norris, the mother of the celebrated comedian known by the name of *Jubilee Dicky*, was the first actress who appeared on the English stage : but this is highly improbable. Mrs. Norris, who was in D'Avenant's Company, certainly had appeared in 1662, but she was probably not young ; for she played *Goody Fells*, in *Town Shifts*, a comedy acted in 1671, and the *Nurse in Reformation*, acted in 1675.

⁴ *A Royal Harbour of Loyal Poesie*, by Thomas Jordan, no date, but printed, I believe, in 1662. Jordan was an actor as well as a poet.

“ *A Prologue, to introduce the first woman that came to act on the stage, in the tragedy called The Moor of Venice.*

“ I come, unknown to any of the rest,
 “ To tell you news ; I saw the lady drest :
 “ The woman plays to-day : mistake me not,
 “ No man in gown, or page in petticoat :
 “ A woman to my knowledge ; yet I can't,
 “ If I should die, make affidavit on't.
 “ Do you not twitter, gentlemen ? I know
 “ You will be censuring : do it fairly though.
 “ 'Tis *possible* a virtuous woman may
 “ Abhor all sorts of looseness, and yet play ;
 “ Play on the stage,—where all eyes are upon her :—
 “ Shall we count that a crime, France counts an honour ?
 “ In other kingdoms husbands safely trust 'em ;
 “ The difference lies only in the custom.
 “ And let it be our custom, I advise ;
 “ I'm sure this custom's better than th' excise,
 “ And may procure *us* custom : hearts of flint
 “ Will melt in passion, when a woman's in't.
 “ But gentlemen, you that as judges fit
 “ In the star-chamber of the house, the pit,
 “ Have modest thoughts of her ; pray, do not run
 “ To give her visits when the play is done,
 “ With ‘ *damn me, your most humble servant, lady ;*
 “ She knows these things as well as you, it may be :
 “ Not a bit there, dear gallants, she doth know
 “ Her own deserts,—and your temptations too.—
 “ But to the point :—In this reforming age
 “ We have intents to civilize the stage.
 “ Our women are defective, and so siz'd,
 “ You'd think they were some of the guard disguis'd :
 “ For, to speak truth, men act, that are between
 “ Forty and fifty, wenches of fifteen ;
 “ With bone so large, and nerve so in compliant,
 “ When you call *DESDEMONA*, enter *GIANT*.—
 “ We shall purge every thing that is unclean,
 “ Lascivious, scurrilous, impious, or obscene ;
 “ And when we've put all things in this fair way,
 “ *BAREBONES* himself may come to see a play.”⁵

* See also the Prologue to *The Second Part of the Siege of*

The Epilogue, which consists of but twelve lines, is in the same strain of apology :

“ And how do you like her? Come, what is't ye drive at?
 “ She's the same thing in publick as in private;
 “ As far from being what you call a whore;
 “ As Desdemona, injur'd by the Moor:
 “ Then he that censures her in such a case,
 “ Hath a soul blacker than Othello's face.
 “ But, ladies, what think *you*? for if you tax
 “ Her freedom with dishonour to your sex,
 “ She means to act no more, and this shall be
 “ No other play but her own tragedy.
 “ She will submit to none but your commands,
 “ And take commission only from your hands.”

From a paper in Sir Henry Herbert's handwriting, I find that *Othello* was performed by the Red Bull company, (afterwards his Majesties servants,) at their new theatre in Vere Street, near Clare Market, on Saturday, December 8, 1660, for the first time that winter. On that day therefore it is probable an actress first appeared on the English stage. This theatre was opened on Thursday, November 8, with the play of *King Henry the Fourth*. Most of Jordan's prologues and epilogues appear to have been written for that company.

Rhodes, (acted in April, 1662,) which was spoken by a woman :

“ Hope little from our poet's wither'd wit,
 “ From infant players, scarce grown puppets yet;
 “ Hope from our women less, whose bathful fear
 “ Wonder'd to see me dare to enter here:
 “ Each took her leave, and wish'd my danger past,
 “ And though I come back safe and undisgrac'd,
 “ Yet when they spy the wits here, then I doubt
 “ No amazon can make them venture out;
 “ Though I advis'd them not to fear you much,
 “ For I presume not half' of you are such.”

It is certain, however, that for some time after the Restoration men also acted female parts;⁶ and Mr. Kynaston, even after women had assumed their proper rank on the stage, was not only endured, but admired; if we may believe a contemporary writer; who assures us, "that being then very young, he made a complete stage beauty, performing his parts so well, (particularly *Arthiope* and *Aglaura*,) that it has since been disputable among the judicious, whether any woman that succeeded him, touched the audience so sensibly as he."⁷

In D'Avenant's company, the first actresses that appeared was probably Mrs. Saunderson, who performed *Ianthe* in *The Siege of Rhodes*, on the open-

⁶ In a Prologue to a play represented before King Charles the Second very soon after his Restoration, of which I know not the title, are these lines, from which it appears that some young men acted the parts of women in that piece:

" ————— we are sorry

" We should this night attend on so much glory

" With such weak worth; or your clear sight engage

" To view the remnants of a ruin'd stage:

" For doubting we should never play again,

" We have play'd all our women into men;

" That are of such large size for flesh and bones,

" They'll rather be taken for amazons

" Than tender maids; but your mercy doth please

" Daily to pass by as great faults as these:

" If this be pardon'd, we shall henceforth bring

" Better oblations to my lord the king."

A Royal Arbour, &c. p. 12.

The author of *Historia Histrionica* says, that Major Mohun played *Bellamente* in Shirley's *Love Cruelty*, after the Restoration; and Cibber mentions, that Kynaston told him he had played the part of *Evadne* in *The Maid's Tragedy*, at the same period, with success. The apology made to King Charles the Second for a play not beginning in due time, ("that the *queen* was not *shaved*,") is well known. The queen is said (but on no good authority) to have been Kynaston.

⁷ *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 19.

ing of his new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, in April, 1662.⁸ It does not appear from Downes's account, that while D'Avenant's company performed at the Cockpit in Drury Lane during the years 1659, 1660, and 1661, they had any female performer among them: or that *Othello* was acted by them at that period.

In the infancy of the English stage it was customary in every piece to introduce a Clown, "by his mimick gestures to breed in the less capable mirth and laughter."⁹ The privileges of the Clown were very extensive; for, between the acts, and sometimes between the scenes, he claimed a right to enter on the stage, and to excite merriment by any species of buffoonery that struck him. Like the Harlequin of the Italian comedy, his wit was often extemporal, and he sometimes entered into a contest of raillery and sarcasm with some of the audience.¹ He generally threw his thoughts into

⁸ In the following year she married Mr. Betterton, and not in 1670, as is erroneously asserted in the *Biographia Britannica*. She acted by the name of Mrs. Betterton, in *The Slighted Maid*, in 1663.

⁹ Heywood's *History of Women*, 1624.

¹ In Brome's *Antipodes*, which was performed at the theatre in Salisbury Court, in 1638, a *by-play*, as he calls it, is represented in his comedy; a word, for the application of which we are indebted to this writer, there being no other term in our language that I know of, which so properly expresses that species of interlude which we find in our poet's *Hamlet* and some other pieces. The actors in this *by-play* being called together by Lord Letoy, he gives them some instructions concerning their mode of acting, which prove that the clowns in Shakspeare's time frequently held a dialogue with the audience:

"Let. ——— Go; be ready.—

"But you, sir, are incorrigible, and

"Take licence to yourself to add unto

"Your parts your own free fancy; and sometimes

hobbling doggrel verses, which he made shorter or longer as he found convenient ; but, however irregular his metre might be, or whatever the length of his verses, he always took care to tag them with words of corresponding sound : like Dryden's *DOEG*,

“ He fagotted his notions as they fell,

“ And if they rhym'd and rattled, all was well.”

Thomas Wilson and Richard Tarleton, both sworn servants to Queen Elizabeth, were the most popular performers of that time in this department of the drama, and are highly praised by the Continuator of Stowe's *Annals*, for “ their wondrous plentiful, pleasant, and *extemporal* wit.”² Tarleton, whose comick powers were so great, that, according to Sir Richard Baker, “ he delighted the spectators before he had spoken a word,” is thus described in a very rare old pamphlet :³ “ The next, by his

“ To alter or diminish what the writer

“ With care and skill compos'd, and when you are

“ To speak to your co-actors in the scene,

“ *You hold interlocution with the audients.*

“ *Bip.* That is a way, my lord, hath been allow'd

“ On elder stages to move mirth and laughter.

“ *Let.* Yes, in the days of *Tarleton* and *Kempe*,

“ Before the stage was purg'd from barbarism,

“ And brought to the perfection it now shines with.

“ Then fools and jesters spent their wit, because

“ The poets were wise enough to save their own

“ For profitabler uses.”

² Howes's edition of Stowe's *Chronicle*, 1631, p. 698.

See also Gabriel Harvey's *Four Letters*, 4to. 1592, p. 9 :
“ Who in London hath not heard of—his fond disguisinge of a Master of Artes with ruffianly haire, unseemely apparell, and more unseemely company ; his vaine glorious and Thraasonicall bravery ; his piperly *extemporising* and *Tarletonixing* ?” &c.

³ *Kinde-Hartes Dreame*, by Henry Chettle, 4to. no date, but published in Dec. 1592.

fute of ruffet, his buttoned cap, his taber, his standing on the toe, and other tricks, I knew to be either the body or resemblance of Tarleton, who living, for his pleasant conceits was of all men liked, and, dying, for mirth left not his like." In 1611 was published a book entitled his *Jeasts*, in which some specimens are given of the extempore wit which our ancestors thought so excellent. As he was performing some part "at the Bull in Bishops-gate-street, where the Queenes players oftentimes played," while he was "kneeling down to aske his fathers blessing," a fellow in the gallery threw an apple at him, which hit him on the cheek. He immediately took up the apple, and advancing to the audience, addressed them in these lines :

" Gentlemen, this fellow, with his face of mapple,[†]
 " Instead of a pippin hath throwne me an apple ;
 " But as for an apple he hath cast a crab,
 " So instead of an honest woman God hath sent him a
 drab."

[†] This appears to have been formerly a common sarcasm. There is a tradition yet preserved in Stratford, of Shakspeare's comparing the carbuncled face of a drunken blacksmith to a *maple*. The blacksmith accosted him, as he was leaning over a mercer's door, with

" Now, MR. SHAKSPEARE, tell me, if you can,
 " The difference between a youth and a young man."
 to which our poet immediately replied,
 " Thou son of fire, with *thy face like a maple*,
 " The same difference as between a scalded and a coddled
 apple."

This anecdote was related near fifty years ago to a gentleman at Stratford by a person then above eighty years of age, whose father might have been contemporary with Shakspeare. It is observable that a similar imagery may be traced in *The Comedy of Errors* :

" Though now this *grained face* of mine be hid," &c.
 The bark of the maple is uncommonly rough, and the grain

“The people,” says the relater, “laughed heartily; for the fellow had a quean to his wife.”

Another of these stories, which I shall give in the author's own words, establishes what I have already mentioned, that it was customary for the Clown to talk to the audience or the actors *ad libitum*.

“At the Bull at Bishops-gate, was a play of *Henry the V.* [the performance which preceded Shakspeare's,] wherein the judge was to take a box on the eare; and because *he* was absent that should take the blow, Tarlton himfelfe ever forward to please, tooke upon him to play the same judge, besides his own part of the clowne; and Knel, then playing Henry the Fifth, hit Tarleton a sound-box indeed, which made the people laugh the more, because it was he: but anon the judge goes in, and immediately Tarleton in his clownes cloathes comes out, and asks the actors, *What news?* O, faith one, had'st thou been here, thou shouldest have seen Prince Henry hit the judge a terrible box on the eare. What, man, said Tarlton, strike a judge! It is true, i'faith, said the other. No other like, said Tarlton, and it could not be but terrible to the judge, when the report so terrifies me, that methinks the blowe remaines still on my cheek, that it burnes againe. The people laught at this mightily, and to this day I have heard it commended for rare; but no marvell, for he had many of these. But I would see *our clownes in these days* do the like. No, I warrant ye; and yet they thinke well of themselves too.”

The last words show that this practice was not

of one of the sorts of this tree (according to Evelyn) is “undulated and crisped into variety of curls.”

discontinued in the time of Shakspeare, and we here see that he had abundant reason for his precept in *Hamlet*: "Let those that play your *clowns*, *speak no more than is set down for them*; for there be of them, that will of themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too; though *in the mean time some necessary question of the play be then to be considered.*"

This practice was undoubtedly coeval with the English stage; for we are told that Sir Thomas More, while he lived as a page with Archbishop Moreton, (about the year 1490,) as the Christmas plays were going on in the palace, would sometimes suddenly step upon the stage, "without studying for the matter," and exhibit a part of his own, which gave the audience much more entertainment than the whole performance besides.⁵

But the peculiar province of the Clown was to entertain the audience after the play was finished, at which time *themes* were sometimes given to him by some of the spectators, to descant upon;⁶ but more commonly the audience were entertained by a *jig*. A *jig* was a ludicrous metrical composition, often in rhyme, which was sung by the Clown, who likewise, I believe, occasionally danced, and

⁵ Roper's *Life and Death of More*, 8vo. 1716, p. 3.

⁶ "I remember I was once at a play in the country, where, as Tarlton's use was, the play being done, every one so pleased *to throw up his theme*: amongst all the rest one was read to this effect, word by word:

' Tarlton, I am one of thy friends, and none of thy foes,
' Then I pr'ythee tell how thou cam'st by thy flat nose,"
&c.

To this challenge Tarleton immediately replied in four lines of loose verse. *Tarlton's Jests*, 4to. 1611.

was always accompanied by a tabor and pipe.⁷ In these jigs more persons than one were sometimes

⁷ “ Out upon them, [the players] they spoile our trade,—they open our crosse-biting, our conny-catching, our traines, our traps, our gins, our snares, our subtilties; for no sooner have we a trick of deceit, but they make it common, *singing gigs*, and making jeasts of us, that every boy can point out our houses as they passe by.” *Kind-Hartes Dreame*, Signat. E 3. b.

See also *Pierce Penniless*, &c. 1592 :

“ ——— like the queint comedians of our time,

“ That when the play is done, do fall to rhyme,” &c.

So, in *A Strange Horse-race*, by Thomas Decker, 1613 :

“ Now as after the cleare stream hath glided away in his owne current, the bottom is muddy and troubled ; and as I have often seen *after the finishing of some worthy tragedy* or catastrophe in the open theatres, that the sceane, after the epilogue, hath been more black, about a nasty bawdy *jigge*, then the most horrid scene in the play was ; the stinkards speaking all things, yet no man understanding any thing ; a mutiny being amongst them, yet none in danger ; no tumult, and yet no quietness ; no mischief begotten, and yet mischief borne ; the swiftness of such a torrent, the more it overwhelms, breeding the more pleasure ; so after these worthies and conquerors had left the field, another race was ready to begin, at which, though the persons in it were nothing equal to the former, yet the shoutes and noyse at these was as great, if not greater.”

The following lines in Hall's *Satires*, 1597, seem also to allude to the same custom :

“ One higher pitch'd, doth set his soaring thought

“ On crowned kings, that fortune hath low brought,

“ Or some upreared high-aspiring swaine,

“ As it might be, the Turkish *Tamburlaine*.

“ Then weeneth he his base drink-drowned spright

“ Rapt to the three-fold loft of heaven hight,

“ When he conceives upon his fained stage

“ The stalking steps of his great personage ;

“ Graced with huff-cap termes and thund'ring threats,

“ That his poor-hearers' hayre quite upright sets.

“ Such soone as some brave-minded hungrie youth

“ Sees fitly frame to his wide-strained mouth,

“ He vaunts his voyce upon an hyred stage,

“ With high-set steps, and princely carriage :—

“ There if he can with termes Italianate,

“ Big-sounding sentences, and words of state,

introduced. The original of the entertainment which this buffoon afforded our ancestors between the acts and after the play, may be traced to the satyrical interludes of Greece,⁸ and the Attellans and Mimes of the Roman stage.⁹ The *Exodiarii*

“ Faire patch me up his pure iambick verse,
 “ He ravishes the gazing scaffolders.—
 “ Now least such frightful shoves of fortunes fall,
 “ And bloody tyrants’ rage, should chance appall
 “ The dead-struck audience, *midst the silent rout*
 “ Comes leaping in a selfe-misformed lout,
 “ And laughs, and grins, and frames his mimick face,
 “ And justles straight into the princes place :
 “ Then doth the theatre echo all aloud
 “ With gladsome noyse of that applauding croud,
 “ A goodly hoch-poch, when vile ruffetings
 “ Are matcht with monarchs and with mighty kings !”

&c.

The entertainments here alluded to were probably “ the fond and frivolous jestures,” described in the Preface to Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*, 1590, which the printer says, he omitted, “ as farre unmeete for the matter, though they have been of some vaine conceited fondlings greatly gaped at, what times they were shewed upon the stage in their graced deformities.”

It should seem, from D’Avenant’s Prologue to *The Wits*, when acted at the Duke’s theatre, in 1662, that this species of entertainment was not even then entirely disused :

“ So country jigs and farces, mixt among
 “ Heroick scenes, make plays continue long.”

Blount, in his *Glossographia*, 1681, 5th edit. defines a farce, “ A fond and dissolute play or comedy. Also the jig at the end of an interlude, wherein some pretty knavery is acted.”

Kempe’s *Jigg of the Kitchen-stuffe-woman*, and Philips his *Jigg of the Slyppers*, were entered on the Stationers’ books in 1595 ; but I know not whether they were printed. There is, I believe, no jig now extant in print.

“ Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
 “ Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, et asper
 “ Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit, eo quod
 “ Illecebris erat et gratâ novitate morandus
 “ Spectator, functusque sacris, et potus et exlex.”

HOR. *De Arte Poetica*.

“ Urbicus exodio risum movet *Atellanæ*
 “ Gestibus Autonoes ;——.” Juv. Sat. VI. 71.

and *Emboliariæ* of the Mimes are undoubtedly the

“ *Exodiarius* in fine ludorum apud veteres intrabat, quod ridiculus foret; ut quicquid lacrymarum atque tristitiæ coegissent ex tragicis affectibus, hujus spectaculi risus detergeret.” *Vet. Schol.* “ As an old commentator on Juvenal affirms, the *Exodiarrii*, which were singers and dancers, entered to entertain the people with light songs and mimical gestures, that they might not go away oppressed with melancholy from these sacred pieces of the theatre.” Dryden’s Dedication to his translation of Juvenal. See also Liv. Lib. VII. c. ii. Others contend that the *Exodia* did not solely signify the songs, &c. at the conclusion of the play, but those also which were sung in the middle of the piece; and that they were so called, because they were introduced *ἐξοδικῶς*, that is, incidentally, and unconnected with the principal entertainment. Of this kind undoubtedly were the *ἐμβολα* or episodes, introduced between the acts, as the *εἰσοδία* were the songs sung at the opening of the play.

The Atellan interludes were so called from Atella, a town in Italy, from which they were introduced to Rome: and in process of time they were acted sometimes in the middle, and sometimes at the end of more serious pieces. These, as we learn from one of Cicero’s letters, gave way about the time of Julius Cæsar’s death to the *Mimes*, which consisted of a grosser and more licentious pleasantry than the Atellan interludes. “ Nunc venio,” says Cicero, “ ad jocationes tuas, cum tu secundum Oenomæum Accii, non ut olim solebat, Atellanum, sed *ut nunc fit*, mimum introduxisti.” *Epist. ad Fam.* IX. 16. The Atellan interludes, however, were not wholly disused after the introduction of the Mimes; as is ascertained by a passage in Suetonius’s Life of Nero, c. xxxix.

“ Mirum et vel præcipue notabile inter hæc fuit, nihil eum patientius quam maledicta et convitia hominum tulisse; neque in ullos leniorem quam qui se dictis ante aut carminibus laceffissent, extitisse.—Transseuntem eum Isidorus Cynicus in publico clara voce corripuerat, quod Nauplii mala bene cantitaret, sua bona male disponderet. Et Datus *Atellanarum* histrio, in cantico quodam, *ὕγιαίνε πάτερ, ὕγιαίνε μήτηρ*, ita demonstraverat, ut bibentem natantemque faceret, exitum scilicet Claudii Agrippinæque significans; et in novissima clausula, *Orcus vobis ducit pedes*, senatum gestu notaret. Histriionem et philosophum Nero nihil amplius quam urbe Italiaque submovit, vel contemptu omnis infamiæ, vel ne fatendo dolorem irritaret ingenia.” See also Galb. c. xiii.

I do not find that the ancient French theatre had any exhibi-

remote progenitors of the Vice and Clown of our ancient dramas.¹

No writer that I have met with, intimates that in the time of Shakspeare it was customary to exhibit more than a single dramattick piece on one

tion exactly corresponding with this, for their *SOTTIE* rather resembled the Atellan farces, in their original state, when they were performed as a distinct exhibition, unmixed with any other interlude. An extract given by Mr. Warton from an old *ART OF POETRY*, published in 1548, furnishes us with this account of it: "The French farce contains nothing of the Latin comedy. It has neither acts nor scenes, which would serve only to introduce a tedious prolixity: for the true subject of the French farce or *SOTTIE* is every sort of foolery, which has a tendency to provoke laughter.—The subject of the Greek and Latin comedy was totally different from every thing on the French stage; for it had more morality than drollery, and often as much truth as fiction. Our *MORALITIES* hold a place indifferently between tragedy and comedy, but our farces are really what the Romans called *Mimes* or *Priapees*, the intended end and effect of which was excessive laughter, and on that account they admitted all kind of licentiousness, as our farces do at present. In the mean time their pleasantry does not derive much advantage from rhymes, however flowing, of eight syllables." *HIST. OF ENG. POETRY*, Vol. III. p. 350. Scaliger expressly mentions the two species of drama above described, as the popular entertainments of France in his time. "Sunto igitur duo genera, quæ etiam vicatim et oppidatim per universam Galliam mirificis artificibus, circumferuntur; *MORALE*, et *RIDICULUM*." *Poetices*, Lib. I. c. x. p. 17, edit. 1561.

¹ The exact conformity between our Clown and the *Exodiaris* and *Emboliariæ* of the Roman stage is ascertained, not only by what I have stated in the text, but by our author's contemporary Philemon Holland, by whom that passage in Pliny which is referred to in a former page,—"*Luceia mima* centum annis in scena pronuntiavit. *Galeria Copiola, emboliaria*, reducta est in scenam,—annum centessimum quartum agens,"—is thus translated: "Luceia, a common *VICE* in a play, followed the stage, and acted thereupon 100 yeeres. Such another *VICE*, that *plaied the foole, and made sporte betweene whiles in interludes*, named *Galeria Copiola*, was brought to act on the stage,—when she was in the 104th yeere of her age."

day.² Had any shorter pieces, of the same kind with our modern farces, (beside the *jigs* already mentioned,) been presented after the principal performance, some of them probably would have been printed; but there are none of them extant of an earlier date than the time of the Restoration.³ The practice therefore of exhibiting two dramas successively in the same afternoon, we may be assured, was not established before that period. But though our ancient audiences were not gratified by the representation of more than one drama in the same day, the entertainment in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth was diversified, and the populace diverted, by vaulting, tumbling, flight of hand, and morrice-dancing;⁴ and in the time of

² *The Yorkshire Tragedy, or All's One*, indeed appears to have been one of four pieces that were represented on the same day; and Fletcher has also a piece called *Four Plays in One*; but probably these were either exhibited on some particular occasion, or were ineffectual efforts to introduce a new species of amusement; for we do not find any other instances of the same kind.

³ In 1663, as I learn from Sir Henry Herbert's MSS. Sir William D'Avenant produced *The Playhouse to be let*. The fifth act of this heterogeneous piece is a mock tragedy, founded on the actions of Cæsar, Anthony, and Cleopatra. This, Langbaine says, used to be acted at the theatre in Dorset Garden, (which was not opened till November, 1671,) after the tragedy of *Pompey*, written by Mrs. Catharine Philips; and was, I believe, the first farce that appeared on the English stage. In 1677, *The Cheats of Scapin* was performed, as a second piece, after *Titus and Berenice*, a play of three acts, in order to furnish out an exhibition of the usual length: and about the same time farces were produced by Duffet, Tate, and others.

⁴ "For the eye, besides the beautie of the houses and the stages, [the devil] sendeth in garish apparell, masques, *vaulting*, *tumbling*, *dauncing of gigges*, *galiardes*, *morisces*, *hobby-horses*, *shewing of juggling castes*,—nothing forgot, that might serve to set out the matter with pompe, or ravish the beholders

Shakspeare, by the extemporaneous buffoonery of the Clown, whenever he chose to solicit the attention of the audience: by singing and dancing between the acts, and either a song or the metrical jig already described at the end of the piece: ⁵ a

with variety of pleasure." *Playes confuted in five Actions*. By Stephen Gosson, Signat. E.

⁵ See Beaumont's Verses to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdess*:

"Nor want there those, who, as the *boy* does *dance*

"Between the acts, will censure the whole play."

So also, in Sir John Davies's EPIGRAMS, no date, but printed in 1598:

"For as we see at all the play-house doores,

"When ended is the play, the *dance*, and *song*,

"A thousand townsmen," &c.

Hentzner observes, that the dances, when he was in London in 1598, were accompanied with exquisite musick. See the passage quoted from his ITINERARY, in p. 57, n. 7.

That in the stage-dances boys in the dress of women sometimes joined, appears to me probable from Prynne's invective against the theatre: "Stage-playes," says he, "by our own modern experience are commonly attended with *mixt* effeminate amorous dancing." *Histrionomastix*, p. 259. From the same author we learn that songs were frequently sung between the acts. "By our own moderne experience there is nothing more frequent in all our stage-playes then amorous pastoral or obscene lascivious love-songs, most melodiously chanted out upon the stage betweene each severall action; both to supply that chasme or vacant interim which the tiring-house takes up in changing the actors' robes, to fit them for some other part in the ensuing scene,—as likewise to please the itching cares, if not to inflame the outrageous lusts, of lewde spectators." *Ibidem*, p. 262.

In another place the author quotes the following passage from Eusebius: "What seeth he who runnes to play-houses? Diabolical songes, dancing wenches, or, that I may speake more truly, girles tossed up and downe with the furies of the devil." ["*A good description* (adds Prynne) *of our dancing females*."] "For what doth this dancereffe? She most impudently uncovers her head, which Paul hath commanded to be always covered; she turnes about her necke the wrong way; she throweth aboute

mixture not more heterogeneous than that with which we are now daily presented, a tragedy and a farce. In the dances, I believe, not only men, but boys in women's dresses, were introduced: a practice which prevailed on the Grecian stage,⁶ and in France till late in the last century.⁷

The amusements of our ancestors, before the commencement of the play, were of various kinds. While some part of the audience entertained themselves with reading,⁸ or playing at cards,⁹ others

her haire hither and thither. Even these things verily are done by her whom the Devill hath possessed." *Ibidem*, p. 534.

It does not appear whether the puritanical writer of this treatise alludes in the observation inserted in crotchets to boys dancing on the stage in women's clothes, or to female dancers in *private* houses. The subject immediately before him should rather lead to the former interpretation. *Women* certainly did not dance on the stage in his time.

⁶ See p. 129, n. 9.

⁷ " Dans le ballet de *Triomphe de l'Amour* en 1621, on vit pour la premiere fois de danseuses sur le theatre de l'Opera: auparavant c'etoient deux, quatre, six, ou huit danseurs qu'on habilloit en femmes." *Oeuvres de M. De Saint-Foix*, Tom. III. p. 416.

⁸ So, in Fitz-Jeffery's *Satires*, 1617:

" Ye worthy worthies! none else, might I chuse,
" Doe I desire my *poesie peruse*,
" For to save charges *ere the play begin*,
" Or when the lord of liberty comes in."

Again, in a Satire at the conclusion of *The Mastive, or young Whelpe of the old Dogge*,—*Epigrams and Satires*, printed by Thomas Creede:

[The author is speaking of those who will probably purchase his book.]

" Last comes my scoffing friend, of scowring wit,
" Who thinks his judgement 'bove all arts doth fit.
" He buys the booke, and hastes him to the *play*;
" Where when he comes and *reads*, 'here's stuff,' doth
say:

were employed in less refined occupations; in drinking ale,¹ or smoking tobacco:² with these and nuts and apples they were furnished by male attendants, of whose clamour a satirical writer of the time of James I. loudly complains.³ In 1633, when Prynne published his *Histrionastix*, women smoked tobacco in the playhouses as well as men.⁴

“ Because the lookers on may hold him wise,
 “ He laughs at what he likes, and then will rise,
 “ And takes tobacco; then about will looke,
 “ And more dislike the play than of the booke;
 “ At length is vext he should with charge be drawne
 “ For such flight fights to lay a sute to pawne.”

⁹ “ Before the play begins, fall to *cardes*.” *Guls Hornebook*, 1609.

¹ See *The Woman-Hater*, a comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1607: “ There is no poet acquainted with more shakings and quakings towards the latter end of his new play, when he’s in that case that he stands peeping between the curtains, so fearfully, that a *bottle of ale* cannot be opened, but that he thinks somebody hisses.”

² “ Now, fir, I am one of your gentle auditors, that am come in;—I have my three sorts of *tobacco* in my pocket; *my light by me*;—and thus I begin.” Induction to *Cynthia’s Revels*, by Ben Jonson, 1601.

So, in *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614: “ He looks like a fellow that I have seen accommodate gentlemen with *tobacco* at our theatres.”

Again, in Decker’s *Guls Hornebook*: “ By sitting on the stage, you may with small cost purchase the deare acquaintance of the boyes; have a good stool for sixpence;—*get your match lighted*,” &c.

³ “ ——— Pr’ythee, what’s the play?
 “ ——— I’ll see’t, and fit it out whate’er.—
 “ Had Fate fore-read me in a crowd to die;
 “ To be made adder-deaf with *pippin-cry*.”

Notes from Black-fryers, by H. Fitz-Jeffery, 1617.

⁴ In a note on a passage in Goffon’s *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579: “ Instead of pomegranates they give them pippins,” &c. quoted

It was a common practice to carry table-books⁵ to the theatre, and either from curiosity, or enmity to the author, or some other motive, to write down passages of the play that was represented; and there is reason to believe that the imperfect and mutilated copies of one or two of Shakspeare's dramas, which are yet extant, were taken down by the ear or in short-hand during the exhibition.

At the end of the piece, the actors, in noble-men's houses and in taverns, where plays were frequently performed,⁶ prayed for the health and prosperity of their patrons; and in the publick

by Prynne, he informs us, "Now they offer them [the female part of the audience] *the tobacco-pipe*, which was then unknowne." *Histrionastix*, p. 363.

⁵ See the Induction to Marston's *Malecontent*, a comedy, 1604: "I am one that hath seen this play often, and can give them [Heminge, Burbage, &c.] intelligence for their action; I have most of the jests here in my *table-book*."

So, in the Prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, 1637:

"—— Nor shall he in plush,
" That from the poet's labours, in the pit
" Informs himself, for the exercise of his wit
" At taverns, *gather notes*."—

Again, in the prologue to *The Woman-Hater*, a comedy, 1607:

"If there be any lurking among you in corners, with *table-books*, who have some hopes to find matter to feed his malice on, let them clasp them up, and flink away, or stay and be converted."

Again, in *Every Man in his Humour*, 1601:

"But to such, wherever they fit concealed, let them know, the author defies them and their *writing-tables*."

⁶ See *A mad World, my Masters*, a comedy, by Middleton, 1608: "Some sherry for my lord's players there, firrah; why this will be a true feast;—a right *Mitre* supper;—a *play and all*."

The night before the insurrection of the gallant and unfortunate Earl of Essex, the play of *King Henry IV.* (not Shakspeare's piece) was acted at his house.

theatres, for the king and queen.⁷ This prayer sometimes made part of the epilogue.⁸ Hence, probably, as Mr. Steevens has observed, the addition of *Vivant rex et regina*, to the modern play-bills.

Plays in the time of our author, began at one o'clock in the afternoon;⁹ and the exhibition was

⁷ See the notes on the Epilogue to *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* Vol. XII. p. 263.

⁸ See *Cambyfes*, a tragedy, by Thomas Preston; *Locrine*, 1595; and *King Henry IV.* P. II.

⁹ “Fuscus doth rise at ten, and at eleven
“He goes to Gyls, where he doth eat till one,
“Then sees a play.”

Epigrams, by Sir John Davies, no date, but printed about 1598.

Others, however, were actuated by a stronger curiosity, and, in order to secure good places, went to the theatre without their dinner. See the Prologue to *The Unfortunate Lovers*, by Sir William D'Avenant, first performed at Blackfriars, in April, 1638:

“—— You are grown excessive proud,
“Since ten times more of wit than was allow'd
“Your silly ancestors in twenty year,
“You think in *two short hours* to swallow here.
“For they to theatres were pleas'd to come,
“*Ere they had din'd*, to take up the best room;
“There sat on benches not adorn'd with mats,
“And graciously did vail their high-crown'd hats
“To every half-dress'd player, as he still
“Through hangings peep'd, to see the galleries fill.
“Good easy-judging souls, with what delight
“They would expect a jig or target-fight!
“A furious tale of Troy, which they ne'er thought
“Was weakly writ, if it were strongly fought;
“Laugh'd at a clinch, the shadow of a jest,
“And cry'd—*a passing good one, I protest.*”

From the foregoing lines it appears that, anciently, places were not taken in the best rooms or boxes, before the representation. Soon after the Restoration, this practice was established. See a prologue to a revived play, in *Covent Garden Drollery*, 1672:

sometimes finished in two hours.¹ Even in 1667, they commenced at three o'clock.² About thirty years afterwards, (in 1696) theatrical entertainments began an hour later.³

We have seen that in the infancy of our stage, Mysteries were usually acted in churches; and the practice of exhibiting religious dramas in buildings appropriated to the service of religion on the Lord's-day certainly continued after the Reformation.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth plays were exhibited in the publick theatres on Sundays, as

“ Hence 'tis, that at *new* plays you come so soon,
 “ Like bridegrooms hot to go to bed ere noon;
 “ Or if you are detain'd some little space,
 “ *The stinking footman's sent to keep your place.*
 “ But if a play's *reviv'd*, you stay and dine,
 “ And drink till *three*, and then come dropping in.”

Though Sir John Davies in the passage above quoted, mentions *one o'clock* as the hour at which plays commenced, the time of beginning the entertainment about eleven years afterwards (1609) seems to have been later; for Decker in his *Guls Horne-booke* makes his gallant go to the ordinary at *two o'clock*, and thence to the play.

When Ben Jonson's *Magnetick Lady* was acted (in 1632,) plays appear to have been over at five o'clock. They probably at that time did not begin till between two and three o'clock.

¹ See p. 152, n. 9. See also the Prologue to *K. Henry VIII.* and that to *Romeo and Juliet*.

² See *The Demoiselles a la Mode*, by Fleckno, 1667:

“ 1. *Actor*. Hark you, hark you, whither away so fast?
 “ 2. *Actor*. Why, to the theatre, 'tis past *three o'clock*, and the play is ready to begin.” See also note 9, above.

After the Restoration, (we are told by old Mr. Cibber,) it was a frequent practice of the ladies of quality, to carry Mr. Kynaston the actor, in his female dress, *after the play*, in their coaches to Hyde-Park.

³ See the Epilogue to *The She Gallants*, printed in that year.

well as on other days of the week.⁴ The licence granted by that queen to James Burbage in 1574, which has been already printed in a former page,⁵ shows that they were then represented on that day, *out of the hours of prayer*.

We are told indeed by John Field in his *Declaration of God's Judgment at Paris Garden*, that in the year 1580 "the magistrates of the city of London obtained from Queene Elizabeth, that all heathenish playes and enterludes should be banished upon sabbath dayes." This prohibition, however, probably lasted but a short time; for her majesty, when she visited Oxford in 1592, did not scruple to be pre-

⁴ "These, [the players] because they are allowed to play every *Sunday*, make four or five *Sundays*, at least, every week." *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579.

"In former times, (says Strype in his *Additions to Stowe's Survey of London*,) ingenious tradesmen and gentlemen's servants would sometimes gather a company of themselves, and learn interludes, to expose vice, or to represent the noble actions of our ancestors. These they played at festivals, in private houses, at weddings, or other entertainments. But in process of time it became an occupation, and these plays being *commonly* acted on *Sundays* and other festivals, the churches were forsaken, and the playhouses thronged."

See also *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse on St. Bartholomew Day, being the 24. of August, 1578, By John Stockwood*:—"Will not a fylthie playe with the blast of a trumpette sooner call thyther [to the country] a thousande, than an houres tolling of a bell bring to a sermon a hundred? Nay, even heere in the citie, without it be at this place, and some other certain ordinarie audience, where shall you find a reasonable company? Whereas if you resort to *the Theatre, the Curtaine*, and other places of playes in the citie, you shall on the *Lord's day* have these places, with many other that I can reckon, so full as possible they can throng."

See also Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, in pref.; and *The Mirrour of Magistrates for Cities*, 1584, p. 24.

sent at a theatrical exhibition on Sunday night, the 24th of September in that year.⁶ During the reign of James the First, though dramatick entertainments were performed at court on Sundays,⁷ I believe, no plays were *publickly* represented on that

⁶ Peck's *Memoirs of Cromwell*, No. IV. p. 15.

⁷ This is ascertained by the following account of "REVELS and PLAYES performed and acted at Christmas in the court at Whitehall, 1622;" for the preservation of which we are indebted to Sir John Aftley, then Master of the Revels:

"Upon St. Steevens daye at night *The Spanish Curate* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon St. Johns daye at night was acted *The Beggars Bush* by the kings players.

"Upon Childermas daye no playe.

"Upon the *Sonday* following *The Pilgrim* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon New-years day at night *The Alchemist* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon Twelfe night, the Masque being put off, the play called *A Vowe and a good one* was acted by the princes servants.

"Upon *Sonday*, being the 19th of January, the Princes Masque appointed for Twelfe daye, was performed. The speeches and songs composed by Mr. Ben. Johnson, and the scene made by Mr. Inigo Jones, which was three tymes changed during the tyme of the masque: where in the first that was discovered was a prospective of Whitehall, with the Banqueting House; the second was the Masquers in a cloud; and the third a forrest. The French embassador was present.

"The Antemasques of tumblers and jugglers.

"The Prince did leade the measures with the French embassadors wife.

"The measures, braules, corrantos, and galliards being ended, the Masquers with the ladyes did daunce 2 contrey daunces, namely *The Soldiers Marche*, and *Huff Hamukin*, where the French Embassadors wife and Mademoysala St. Luke did [daunce].

"At Candlemas *Malvolio* was acted at court, by the kings servants.

"At Shrovetide, the king being at Newmarket, and the prince out of England, there was neyther masque nor play, nor any other kind of Revells held at court." MS. Herbert.

day ;⁸ and by the statute 3 Car. I. c. 1. their exhibition on the Sabbath day was absolutely prohibited : yet, notwithstanding this act of parliament, both plays and masques were performed at court on Sundays, during the first sixteen years of the reign of that king,⁹ and certainly in private houses, if not on the publick stage.

⁸ In the *Refutation of the Apologie for Actors*, by J. G. quarto, 1615, it is asked, “ If plays do so much good, why are they not suffered on the *Sabbath*, a day select whereon to do good ? ” From hence it appears, that plays were not permitted to be publickly acted on Sundays in the time of *James I.*

Yet Beard, in his *Theatre of God's Judgment*, p. 212, edit. 1631, tells us, that in the year 1607, “ at a towne in Bedfordshire called Risley, the floore of a chamber wherein many were gathered together to see a stage-play on the *sabbath day*, fell downe.” But this was a private exhibition.—From a passage also in Prynne's *Histrionastix*, p. 243, it appears that plays had been sometimes represented on Sundays in the time of James the First, though the practice was then not common. “ Dancing therefore on the Lords day is an unlawful pastime punishable by the statute 1 Caroli, c. 1. which intended to suppress dancing on the lords day, as well as beare-bayting, bull-bayting, *enterludes and common playes*, which were not so rife, so common, as dancing, when this law was first enacted.”

It is uncertain whether this writer here alludes to publick or private exhibitions.

⁹ May, in his *History of the Parliament of England*, 1646, taking a review of the conduct of King Charles and his ministers from 1628 to 1640, mentions that plays were usually represented at court on *Sundays* during that period.

There were during this period similar exhibitions on Sundays elsewhere as well as at court, notwithstanding the statute made in the beginning of this reign : but whether they were permitted then in the publick theatres, I am unable to ascertain. Prynne, in his *Histrionastix*, p. 645, has the following passage : “ Neither will it hereupon follow, that we may dance, dice, see masques or plays on *Lords-day nights*, (*as too many do*,) because the Lords day is then ended,” &c. : and in p. 717, he insinuates that the statute, 3 Car. I. c. 4, (which prohibited the exhibition of any interlude or stage-play on the Lords-day,) was not very strictly enforced : “ If it were as diligently executed as

It has been a question, whether it was formerly a common practice to ride on horseback to the playhouse; a circumstance that would scarcely deserve consideration, if it were not in some sort connected with our author's history,¹ a plausible story having been built on this foundation, relative to his first introduction to the stage.

The modes of conveyance to the theatre, anciently, as at present, seem to have been various; some going in coaches,² others on horseback,³ and

it was piously enacted, it would suppress many great abuses, *that are yet continuing among us*, to God's dishonour and good christians' grief in too many places of our kingdom; which our justices, our inferiour magistrates, might soon reforme, would they but set themselves seriously about it, as some *here and there* have done."

See also Withers's *Britaines Remembrancer*, Canto VI. p. 197, b. edit. 1628 :

" And seldom have they leifure for a play

" Or masque, except upon God's holiday."

In John Spencer's *Discourses upon diverse Petitions*, &c. 4to. 1641, (as I learn from Oldys's manuscript notes on Langbaine,) it is said, that " John Wilson, a cunning musician, contrived a curious comedy, which being acted on a *Sunday* night after that John bishop of Lincoln had consecrated the earl of Cleaveland's sumptuous chapel, the said John Spencer (newly made the bishop's commissary general) did present the said bishop at Huntingdon for suffering the said comedy to be acted in his house on a *Sunday*, though it was nine o'clock at night; also Sir Sydney Montacute and his lady, Sir Thomas Hadley and his lady, Master Wilson, and others, actors of the same; and because they did not appear, he sentenced the bishop to build a school at Eaton, and endow it with 20l. a year for a master; Sir Sydney Montacute to give five pounds and five coats to five poor women, and his lady five pounds and five gowns to five poor widows; and the censure, (says he,) stands yet unrepealed."

¹ See Vol. I. Anecdotes at the end of Shakspeare's Life, &c.

² " A pipe there, firrah; no sophisticate;
" Villaine, the best;—whate'er you prize it at.

many by water.⁴ To the *Globe* playhouse the com-

“ Tell yonder lady with the yellow fan,

“ I shall be proud to usher her anon ;

“ My *coach* stands ready.—”

Notes from Black-friars, 1617.

The author is describing the behaviour of a gallant at the *Blackfriars theatre*.

³ See the induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601 : “ Besides, they could wish, your poets would leave to be promoters of other men's jests, and to way-lay all the stale apothegms or old books they can hear of, in print or otherwise, to farce their scenes withal :—again, that feeding their friends with nothing of their own but what they have twice or thrice cook'd, they should not wantonly give out, how soon they had drest it, nor how many *coaches* came to carry away the broken meat, besides *hobby-horses*, and *foot-cloth nags*.”

“ By this time,” (says Decker, describing an ordinary,) “ the parings of fruit and cheese are in the voyder, cardes and dice lie stinking in the fire, the guests are all up, the guilt rapiers ready to be hanged, the French lacquey and Irish footboy shrugging at the doores, *with their masters' hobby horses, to ride to the new play* ;—that's the randevous, thither they are gallopt in post ; let us take a paire of oares and row lustily after them.” *Guls Hornebooke*, 4to. 1609.

⁴ In the year 1613, the Company of Watermen petitioned his majesty, “ that the players might not be permitted to have a playhouse in London or in Middlesex, within four miles of the city on that side of the Thames.” From Taylor's *True Cause of the Watermen's Suit concerning Players, and the Reasons that their playing on London Side, is their* [i. e. the Watermen's] *extreme Hindrance*, we learn, that the theatres on the Bankside in Southwark were once so numerous, and the custom of going thither by water so general, that many thousand watermen were supported by it.—As the book is not common, and the passage contains some anecdotes relative to the stage at that time, I shall transcribe it :

“ Afterwards,” [i. e. as I conjecture, about the year 1596,] says Taylor, who was employed as an advocate in behalf of the watermen, “ the players began to play on the *Bankside*, and to leave playing in London and Middlesex, *for the most part*. Then there went such great concourse of people by water, that the small number of watermen remaining at home [the majority be-

pany probably were conveyed by water :⁵ to that

ing employed in the Spanish war] were not able to carry them, by reason of the court, the tearms, the players, and other employments. So that we were inforced and encouraged, hoping that this golden stirring world would have lasted ever, to take and entertaine men and boyes, which boyes are grown men, and keepers of houses ; so that the number of watermen, and those that live and are maintained by them, and by the only labour of the oare and scull, betwixt the bridge of Windsor and Gravesend, cannot be fewer than *forty thousand* ; the cause of the greater halfe of which multitude hath bene the players playing on *the Bankside* ; for I have known three companies, besides the bear-baiting, at once there ; to wit, *the Globe, the Rose, and the Swan*.

“ And now it hath pleased God in this peaceful time, [from 1604 to 1613,] that there is no employment at the sea, as it hath bene accustomed, so that all those great numbers of men remaines at home ; and the players have all (except the kings men) left their usual residency on *the Bankside*, and doe play in Middlesex, far remote from the Thames ; so that every day in the weeke they do draw unto them three or four thousand people, that were used to spend their monies by water.”

“ His majesties players did exhibit a petition against us, in which they said, that our suit was unreasonable, and that we might as justly remove the Exchange, the walkes in Paules, or Moorfields, to the Bankside, for our profits, as to confine them.”

The affair appears never to have been decided. “ Some (says Taylor) have reported that I took bribes of the players, to let the suit fall, and to that purpose I had a supper of them, at *the Cardinal's hat*, on the Bankside.” *Works of Taylor the Water-poet*, p. 171, edit. 1633.

⁵ See an epilogue to a vacation-play at *the Globe*, by Sir William D'Avenant ; *Works*, p. 245 :

“ For your own sakes, poor souls, you had not best

“ Believe my fury was so much suppressed

“ I' the heat of the last scene, as now you may

“ Boldly and safely too cry down our play ;

“ For if you dare but murmur one false note,

“ Here in the house, or going to *take boat* ;

“ By heaven I'll mow you off with my long sword,

“ Yeoman and squire, knight, lady, and her lord.”

So, in *The Guls Hornbook*, 1609 : “ If you can either for love or money, provide your selfe a lodging by the water-side ;

in *Blackfriars*, the gentry went either in coaches,⁶

—it adds a kind of state to you to be carried from thence to the *staiers of your playhouse*.”

⁶ See a letter from Mr. Garrard to Lord Strafford, dated Jan. 9, 1633-4; Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 175: “Here hath been an order of the lords of the council hung up in a table near *Paul's* and *the Black-fryars*, to command all that resort to the playhouse there, to send away their *coaches*, and to disperse abroad in *Paul's Church-yard*, *Carter Lane*, *the Conduit in Fleet Street*, and other places, and not to return to fetch their company; but they must trot a-foot to find their *coaches*:—’twas kept very strictly for two or three weeks, but now, I think, it is disordered again.”—It should, however, be remembered, that this was written above forty years after Shakspeare's first acquaintance with the theatre. Coaches, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, were possessed but by very few. They were not in ordinary use till after the year 1605. See Stowe's *Annals*, p. 867.

In *A pleasant Dialogue between Coach and Sedan*, 4to. 1636, it is said, that “the first coach that was seen in England was that presented to Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Arundel, in which she went from Somerset-House to St. Paule's Croffe, to hear a sermon on the victory obtained against the Spaniards in 1588.”

“I wonder in my heart, (says the writer, who was born in 1578,) why our nobilitie cannot in faire weather walke the streets as they were wont; as I have seene the Earles of Shrewsbury, Darbie, Suffex, Cumberland, Effex, &c.—besides those inimitable presidents of courage and valour, Sir Frances Drake, Sir P. Sydney, Sir Martin Forbisher, &c. with a number of others,—when a coach was almost as rare as an elephant.”

Even when the above mentioned order was made, there were no *hackney* coaches. These, as appears from another letter in the same collection, were established a few months afterwards. “I cannot (says Mr. Garrard) omit to mention any new thing that comes up amongst us, though never so trivial. Here is one captain Bailey; he hath been a sea-captain, but now lives on the land, about this city, where he tries experiments. He hath erected, according to his ability, some *four hackney coaches*, put his men in livery, and appointed them to stand at the *May-pole* in the *Strand*, giving them instructions at what rates to carry men into several parts of the town, where all day they may be had. Other *hackney-men* seeing this way, they flocked to the same place, and perform their journeys at the same rate. So

or on horseback ; and the common people on foot.⁷

Plays in the time of King James the First, (and probably afterwards,) appear to have been performed every day at each theatre during the winter season,⁸ except in the time of Lent, when they

that sometimes there is twenty of them together, which disperse up and down, that they and others are to be had every where, as water-men are to be had by the water-side. Every body is much pleased with it. For whereas, before, coaches could not be had but at great rates, now a man may have one much cheaper." This letter is dated April 1, 1634.—Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 227.

A few months afterwards hackney chairs were introduced : " Here is also another project for carrying people up and down in *close chairs*, for the sole doing whereof, Sir Sander Duncombe, a traveller, now a pensioner, hath obtained a patent from the king, and hath forty or fifty making ready for use." *Ibid.* p. 336.

This species of conveyance had been used long before in Italy, from whence probably this *traveller* introduced it. See Florio's *Italian Dictionary*, 1598, in v. *Carrivola* : " A kinde of chaire covered, used in *Italie* for to carrie men up and downe by porters, unseene of anie bodie." In his second edition, 1611, he defines it, " A kind of covered chaire used in Italy, wherein men and women are carried by porters *upon their shoulders*."

⁷ See p. 158, n. 3. In an epigram by Sir John Davies, persons of an inferior rank are ridiculed for presuming to imitate noblemen and gentlemen in riding to the theatre :

" Faustus, nor lord, nor knight, nor wife, nor old,

" To every place about the town doth *ride* ;

" He *rides* into the fields, *plays to behold* ;

" He rides to take boat at the water-side."

Epigrams, printed at Middleburg, about 1598.

⁸ See Taylor's *Suit of the Watermen*, &c. Works, p. 171 : " But my love is such to them, [the players,] that whereas they do play but once a day, I could be content they should play twice or thrice a day. The players have all (except the Kings men,) left their usual residency on the Bankside, and doe play in Middlesex far remote from the Thames, so that *every day* in

were not permitted on the sermon days, as they were called, that is, on Wednesday and Friday; nor on the other days of the week, except by special licence: which however was obtained by a fee paid to the Master of the Revells. In the summer season the stage exhibitions were continued, but during the long vacation they were less frequently repeated. However, it appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, that the king's company usually brought out two or three new plays at the Globe every summer.⁹

Though, from the want of newspapers and other periodical publications, intelligence was not so speedily circulated in former times as at present, our ancient theatres do not appear to have laboured under any disadvantage in this respect; for the players printed and exposed accounts of the pieces that they intended to exhibit,¹ which, however, did

the week they do draw unto them three or four thousand people." *Ibidem.*

In 1598, Hentzner says, plays were performed in the theatres which were then open, *almost* every day. "Sunt porro Londini extra urbem theatra aliquot, in quibus histriones Angli comœdias et tragœdias singulis fere diebus in magna hominum frequentia agunt." *Itin.* 4to. 1598.

⁹ In D'Avenant's Works we find "an Epilogue to a *vacation* play at the Globe." See also the Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to *Andromache*, a tragedy acted at the Duke's theatre, in 1675: "This play happening to be in my hands in the *long vacation*, a time when the playhouses are willing to catch at any reed to save themselves from sinking, to do the house a kindness, and to serve the gentleman who it seemed was desirous to see it on the stage, I willingly perused it.—The play deserved a better liking than it found; and had it been acted in the good well meaning times, when the *Cid*, *Heraclius*, and other French plays met with such applause, this would have passed very well; but since our audiences have tasted so plentifully the firm English wit, these thin *regalios* will not down."

¹ "They use to set up their billes upon posts some certaine

not contain a list of the characters, or the names of the actors by whom they were represented.²

The long and whimsical titles which are prefixed to the quarto copies of our author's plays, were undoubtedly either written by booksellers, or transcribed from the play-bills of the time.³ They were

days before, to admonish the people to make resort to their theatres, that they may thereby be the better furnished, and the people prepared to fill their purses with their treasures." *Treatise against Idleness, vaine Playes and Interludes*, bl. 1. (no date.)

The antiquity of this custom likewise appears from a story recorded by Taylor the Water Poet, under the head of *Wit and Mirth*, 30. "Master Field, the player, riding up Fleet-street a great pace, a gentleman called him, and asked him, what play was played that day. He being angry to be staied on so frivolous a demand, answered, that he might see what play was plaied upon every *poste*. I cry you mercy, said the gentleman, I tooke you for a *poste*, you rode so fast." Taylor's *Works*, p. 183.

Ames, in his *History of Printing*, p. 342, says that James Roberts [who published some of our author's dramas] printed *bills for the players*.

It appears from the following entry on the Stationers' books, that even the right of printing play-bills was at one time made a subject of monopoly :

"Oct. 1587. John Charlewoode.] Lyncensed to him by the whole consent of the assistants, the *onlye* ymprinting of all manner of *billes for players*. Provided that if any trouble arise herebye, then *Charlewoode* to beare the charges."

² This practice did not commence till the beginning of the present century. I have seen a play-bill printed in the year 1697, which expressed only the titles of the two pieces that were to be exhibited, and the time when they were to be represented. Notices of plays to be performed on a future day, similar to those now daily published, first appeared in the original edition of the *Spectators* in 1711. In these early theatrical advertisements our author is always styled the *immortal* Shakspeare. Hence Pope :

"Shakspeare, whom you and every *play-house bill*

"Style the *divine*, the matchless, what you will,—."

³ Since the first edition of this essay I have found strong reason to believe that the former was the case. Nashe in the

equally calculated to attract the notice of the idle gazer in the walks at St. Paul's, or to draw a croud about some vociferous Autolycus, who perhaps was hired by the players thus to raise the expectations of the multitude. It is indeed absurd to suppose, that the modest Shakspeare, who has more than once apologized for his *untutored lines*, should in his manuscripts have entitled any of his dramas *most excellent and pleasant performances*.⁴

second edition of his *Supplication to the Devil*, 4to. 1592, complains that the *printer* had prefixed a pompous title to the first impression of his pamphlet, (published in the same year,) which he was much ashamed of, and rejected for one more simple. "Cut off," says he to his printer, "that long-tayld title, and let mee not in the fore-front of my booke make a tedious mountebanks oration to the reader." The printer's title, with which Nashe was displeased, is as follows: "*Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Divell, describing the over-spreading of Vice and suppression of Vertue. Pleasantly interlaced with variable delights, and pathetically intermixt with conceived reproofes. Written by Thomas Nashe, Gent. 1592.*" There is a striking resemblance between this and the titles prefixed to some of the copies of our author's plays, which are given at length in the next note. In the title-page of our author's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 4to. 1602, (see the next note,) *Sir Hugh* is called the Welsh knight; a mistake into which Shakspeare could not have fallen.

Instead of the spurious title above given, Nashe in his second edition, printed apparently under his own inspection, (by Abel Jeffes, for John Busbie,) calls his book only—*Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Divell*.

⁴ The titles of the following plays may serve to justify what is here advanced:

"The *most excellent* Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Jewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a just pound of his flesh, and obtayning of Portia by the choyse of three caskets. As it hath been diverse times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. Written by William Shakespeare. 1600."

"Mr. William Shak-speare his True Chronicle Historie of

It is uncertain at what time the usage of giving authors a benefit on the third day of the exhibition of their piece, commenced. Mr. Oldys, in one of his manuscripts, intimates that dramattick poets

the Life and Death of King LEAR and his three Daughters. With the unfortunate life of Edgar, Sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his fullen and assumed humor of TOM of bedlam: As it was played before the Kings Majestie at Whitehall upon S. Stephens Night in Christmasts Hollidayes. By his Majesties Servants playing usually at the Globe on the Bank-side. 1608."

"A most *Pleasant* and *Excellent Conceited* Comedie of Syr John Falstaffe, and the Merry Wives of Windsor. Entermixed with fundrie variable and pleasing Humors of Sir Hugh, the Welch Knight, Justice Shallow, and his wise cousin, Mr. Slender. With the Swaggering Vaine of ancient Pistoll, and Corporal Nym. By William Shakespeare. As it hath been divers times acted by the Right Honourable my Lord Chamberlaines Servants; both before her Majestie and elsewhere. 1602."

"The History of Henrie the Fourth; With the Battel at Shrewsburie, betweene the King and Lord Henrie Percy, surnamed Henry Hot-spur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir John Falstaffe. Newly corrected by W. Shakspeare. 1598."

"The Tragedie of King Richard The Third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: The pitiful Murder of his innocent Nephews: his tiranous usurpation: with the whole course of his detested Life, and most deserved Death. As it hath been lately acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. By William Shakespeare. 1597."

"The late and *much-admired* Play, called Pericles Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whole Historie, adventures, and fortunes, of the said Prince: As also, the no less strange and worthy accidents in the Birth and Life of his Daughter *Mariana*. As it hath been divers and fundry times acted by his Majesties Servants at the Globe on the Bank-side. By William Shakespeare. 1609."

had anciently their benefit on the first day that a new play was represented; a regulation which would have been very favourable to some of the ephemeral productions of modern times. I have found no authority which proves this to have been the case in the time of Shakspeare; but at the beginning of the present century it appears to have been customary in Lent for the *players* of the theatre in Drury Lane to divide the profits of the first representation of a new play among them.⁵

From D'Avenant, indeed, we learn, that in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the poet had his benefit on the second day.⁶ As it was a general practice, in the time of Shakspeare, to sell the copy of the play to the theatre, I imagine, in such cases, an author derived no other advantage from his piece, than what arose from the sale of it. Sometimes, however, he found it more beneficial to retain the copy-right in his own hands; and when he did so, I suppose he had a benefit. It is certain that the giving authors the profits of the third exhibition of their play, which seems to have been the usual mode during a great part of the last century, was an established custom in the year 1612; for Decker, in the prologue to one of his comedies, printed in that year, speaks of the poet's *third day*.⁷

⁵ Gildon's *Comparison between the Stages*, 1702, p. 9.

⁶ See *The Play-house to be Let*:

“ *Players*. — There is an old tradition,
 “ That in the times of mighty *Tamberlane*,
 “ Of conjuring *Faustus* and the *Beauchamps bold*,
 “ You poets us'd to have the *second day*;
 “ This shall be ours, sir, and to-morrow yours.
 “ *Poet*. I'll take my venture; 'tis agreed.”

⁷ “ It is not praise is sought for now, but pence,
 “ Though dropp'd from greasy-apron'd audience.

The unfortunate Otway had no more than one benefit on the production of a new play; and this too, it seems, he was sometimes forced to mortgage, before the piece was acted.⁸ Southerne was the first dramatick writer who obtained the emoluments arising from two representations;⁹ and to Farquhar, in the year 1700, the benefit of a third

“ Clapp’d may he be with thunder, that plucks bays
 “ With such foul hands, and with squint eyes doth gaze
 “ On Pallas’ shield, not caring, so he gains
 “ A cram’d *third day*, what filth drops from his brains !”
 Prologue to *If this be not a good Play, the Devil’s*
in’t, 1612.

Yet the following passages intimate, that the poet at a subsequent period had some interest in the *second day’s* exhibition :

“ Whether their sold scenes be disliked or hit,
 “ Are cares for them who eat by the stage and wit;
 “ He’s one whose unbought muse did never fear
 “ An empty *second day*, or a thin share.”
 Prologue to *The City Match*, a comedy, by J. Mayne,
 acted at Blackfriars in 1639.

So, in the prologue to *The Sophy*, by Sir John Denham, acted at Blackfriars in 1642 :

“ ——— Gentlemen, if you dislike the play,
 “ Pray make no words on’t till the *second day*
 “ Or *third* be past; for we would have you know it,
 “ The loss will fall on us, not on the poet,
 “ For he writes not for money.——”

In *other* cases, then, it may be presumed, the loss, either of the *second* or *third day*, did affect the author.

Since the above was written, I have learned from Sir Henry Herbert’s office-book, that between the year 1625 and 1641, benefits were on the *second day* of representation.

8 “ But which amongst you is there to be found,
 “ Will take his *third day’s pawn*, for fifty pound ?”
 Epilogue to *Caius Marius*, 1680.

9 “ I must make my boast, though with the most acknowledging respect, of the favours of the fair sex—in so visibly promoting my interest on those days chiefly, (the *third* and the

was granted ;¹ but this appears to have been a particular favour to that gentleman ; for for several years afterwards dramatick poets had only the benefit of the third and sixth performance.²

The profit of three representations did not become the established right of authors till after the year 1720.³

To the honour of Mr. Addison, it should be remembered, that he first discontinued the ancient,

sixth.) when I had the tenderest relation to the welfare of my play."

Southerne's Dedication to *Sir Antony Love*, a comedy, 1691.

Hence Pope :

" May Tom, whom heaven sent down to raise

" The price of prologues and of plays," &c.

It should seem, however, to have been some time before this custom was uniformly established ; for the author of *The Treacherous Brothers*, acted in 1696, had only one benefit :

" See't but three days, and fill the house, the last,

" He shall not trouble you again in haste." *Epilogue*.

¹ On the representation of *The Constant Couple*, which was performed fifty-three times in the year 1700. Farquhar, on account of the extraordinary success of that play, is said by one of his biographers to have been allowed by the managers the profits of four representations.

² " Let this play live ; then we stand bravely fixt !

" But let none come his *third* day, nor the *sixth*."

Epilogue to The Island Princess, 1701.

" But should this fail, at least our author prays,

" A truce may be concluded for *six* days."

Epilogue to The Perplex'd Lovers, 1712.

In the preface to *The Humours of the Army*, printed in the following year, the author says, " It would be impertinent to go about to justify the play, because a prodigious full third night and a very good *sixth* are prevailing arguments in its behalf."

³ Cibber, in his Dedication to *Ximena, or the Heroick Daughter*, printed in 1719, talks of bad plays lingering through *six* nights. At that time, therefore, the poets certainly had but two benefits.

but humiliating, practice of distributing tickets, and soliciting company to attend at the theatre, on the poet's nights.⁴

When an author sold his piece to the sharers or proprietors of a theatre, it could not be performed by any other company,⁵ and remained for several

⁴ Southerne, by this practice, is said to have gained seven hundred pounds by one play.

⁵ "Whereas William Biefton, gent. governor of the kings and queenes young company of players at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, has represented unto his majesty, that the severall playes hereafter mentioned, viz. *Wit without Money: The Night-Walkers: The Knight of the Burning Pestle: Fathers owne Sonne: Cupids Revenge: The Bondman: The Renegado: A new Way to pay Debts: The great Duke of Florence: The Maid of Honour: The Traytor: The Example: The Young Admiral: The Opportunity: A witty fayre One: Loves Cruelty: The Wedding: The Maids Revenge: The Lady of Pleasure: The Schoole of Complement: The grateful Servant: The Coronation: Hide Parke: Philip Chabot, Admiral of France: A Mad Couple well met: All's lost by Lust: The Changeling: A fayre Quarrel: The Spanish Gipsie: The World: The Sunnes Darling: Loves Sacrifice: 'Tis Pity she's a Whore: George a Greene: Loves Mistresse: The Cunning Lovers: The Rape of Lucrece: A Trick to cheat the Divell: A Foole and her Maydenhead soone parted: King John and Matilda: A City Night-cap: The Bloody Banquet: Cupids Revenge: The conceited Duke: and Appius and Virginia*, doe all and every of them properly and of right belong to the sayd house, and consequently that they are all in his propriety. And to the end that any other companies of actors in or about London shall not presume to act any of them to the prejudice of him the sayd William Biefton and his company, his majesty hath signified his royal pleasure unto mee, thereby requiring mee to declare foe much to all other companies of actors hereby concernable, that they are not any wayes to intermeddle with or act any of the above-mentioned playes. Whereof I require all masters and governours of play-houses, and all others whom it may concerne, to take notice, and to forbear to impeach the said William Biefton in the premises, as they tender his majesties displeasure, and will answer the contempt. Given, &c. Aug. 10, 1639." MS. in the

years unpublished; ⁶ but, when that was not the case, he printed it for sale, to which many seem to

Lord Chamberlain's office, entitled in the margin, *Cockpitt playes appropriated*.

⁶ Sometimes, however, an author, after having sold his piece to the theatre, either published it, or suffered it to be printed; but this appears to have been considered as dishonest. See the preface to Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1638: "I had rather subscribe in that to their weak censure, than, by seeking to avoid the imputation of weakness, to incur a great suspicion of honesty; for though some have used a *double* sale of their labours, first to the stage, and after to the presse," &c.

How careful the proprietors were to guard against the publication of the plays which they had purchased, appears from the following admonition, directed to the Stationers' Company in the year 1637, by Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, then Lord Chamberlain:

"After my hearty commendations.—Whereas complaint was heretofore presented to my dear brother and predecessor, by his majesties servants, the players, that some of the company of printers and stationers had procured, published, and printed, diverse of their books of comedies and tragedies, chronicle histories, and the like, which they had (for the special service of his majesty and for their own use) bought and provided at very dear and high rates. By means whereof, not only they themselves had much prejudice, but the books much corruption, to the injury and disgrace of the authors. And thereupon the master and wardens of the company of printers and stationers were advised by my brother to take notice thereof, and to take order for the stay of any further impression of any of the plays or interludes of his majesties servants without their consents; which being a caution given with such respect, and grounded on such weighty reasons, both for his majesties service and the particular interest of the players, and soe agreeable to common justice and that indifferent measure which every man would look for in his own particular, it might have been presumed that they would have needed no further order or direction in the business, notwithstanding which, I am informed that some copies of plays belonging to the king and queenes servants, the players, and purchased by them at dear rates, having been lately stolen or gotten from them by indirect means, are now attempted to be printed; which, if it should be suffered, would directly tend to

have been induced from an apprehension that an imperfect copy might be issued from the press without their consent.⁷ The customary price of the copy of a play, in the time of Shakspeare, appears to have been twenty nobles, or six pounds

their apparent detriment and prejudice, and to the disenabling them to do their majesties service : for prevention and redresse whereof, it is desired that order be given and entered by the master and wardens of the company of printers and stationers, that if any playes be already entered, or shall hereafter be brought unto the hall to be entered for printing, that notice thereof be given to the king and queenes servants, the players, and an enquiry made of them to whom they do belong ; and that none bee suffered to be printed untill the assent of their majesties' said servants be made appear to the Master and Wardens of the company of printers and stationers, by some certificate in writing under the hands of John Lowen, and Joseph Taylor, for the kings servants, and of Christopher Beeston for the king and queenes young company, or of such other persons as shall from time to time have *the direction* of these companies ; which is a course that can be hurtfull unto none but such as are about unjustly to peravayle themselves of others' goods, without respect of order or good government ; which I am confident you will be careful to avoyd, and therefore I recommend it to your special care. And if you shall have need of any further authority or power either from his majesty or the counsell-table, the better to enable you in the execution thereof, upon notice given to mee either by yourselves or the players, I will endeavour to apply that further remedy thereto, which shall be requisite. And soe I bidd you very heartily farewell, and rest

“ Your very loving friend,

“ June 10, 1637.

P. and M.

“ To the Master and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers.”

⁷ “ One only thing affects me ; to think, that scenes invented merely to be spoken, should be inforcively published to be read ; and that the least hurt I can receive, is, to do myself the wrong. But since others otherwise would do me more, the least inconvenience is to be accepted : I have therefore myself set forth this comedie.” Marston's preface to *The Malecontent*, 1604.

thirteen shillings and four-pence.⁸ The play when

⁸ See *The Defence of Coneycatching*, 1592 : “ Master R. G [Robert Greene] would it not make you blush—if you sold *Orlando Furioso* to the queenes players for *twenty nobles*, and when they were in the country, sold the same play to Lord Admirals men, for as much more? Was not this plain coney-catching, M. G.?”

Oldys, in one of his manuscripts, says, that Shakspeare received but *five pounds* for his *Hamlet*; whether from the players who first acted it, or the printer or bookseller who first published it, is not distinguished. I do not believe he had any good authority for this assertion.

In the latter end of the last century, it should seem, an author did not usually receive more from his bookseller for a dramatick performance than 20l. or 25l.; for Dryden, in a letter to his son, written about the year 1698, mentions, that the whole emoluments which he expected from a new play that he was about to produce, would not exceed one hundred pounds. Otway and Lee got but that sum by *Venice Preserved*, *The Orphan*, *Theodosius*, and *Alexander the Great*; as Gildon, their contemporary, informs us. The profits of the third night were probably seventy pounds; the dedication produced either five or ten guineas, according to the munificence of the patron; and the rest arose from the sale of the copy.

Southerne, however, in consequence of the extraordinary success of his *Fatal Marriage* in 1694, sold the copy of that piece for thirty-six pounds, as appears from a letter which has been kindly communicated to me by my friend, the Right Hon.ble Mr. Windham, and which, as it contains some new stage anecdotes, I shall print entire. This letter has been lately found by Mr. Windham among his father's papers, at Felbrigg, in Norfolk; but, the signature being wanting, by whom it was written has not been ascertained:

“ Dear Sir, London, March the 22, 1693-4.

“ I received but 10 days since the favour of your obliging letter, dated January the last, for which I return you a thousand thanks. I wish my scribbling could be diverting to you, I should oftner trouble you with my letters; but there is hardly any thing now to make it acceptable to you, but an account of our winter diversions, and chiefly of the new plays which have been the entertainment of the town.

“ The first that was acted was Mr. Congreve's, called *The Double Dealer*. It has fared with that play, as it generally does with

printed was sold for fixpence ;⁹ and the usual pre-

beauties officiously cried up ; the mighty expectation which was raised of it made it sink, even beneath its own merit. The character of *The Double Dealer* is artfully writt, but the action being but single, and confined within the rules of true comedy, it could not please the generality of our audience, who relish nothing but variety, and think any thing dull and heavy which does not border upon farce.—The criticks were severe upon this play, which gave the author occasion to lash 'em in his Epistle Dedicatory, in so defying or hectoring a style, that it was counted rude even by his best friends ; so that 'tis generally thought he has done his business, and lost himself : a thing he owes to Mr. Dryden's treacherous friendship, who being jealous of the applause he had gott by his *Old Batchelour*, deluded him into a foolish imitation of his own way of writing angry prefaces.

“ The 2d play is Mr. Dryden's, called *Love Triumphant, or Nature will prevail*. It is a tragi-comedy, but in my opinion one of the worst he ever writt, if not the very worst ; the comical part descends beneath the style and shew of a Bartholomew-fair droll. It was damn'd by the universal cry of the town, *nemine contradicente*, but the conceited poet. He says in his prologue, that this is the last the town must expect from him ; he had done himself a kindness had he taken his leave before.

“ The 3d is Mr. Southern's, call'd *The Fatal Marriage, or the Innocent Adultery*. It is not only the best that author ever writt, but is generally admired for one of the greatest ornaments of the stage, and the most entertaining play has appeared upon it these 7 years. The plot is taken from Mrs. Behn's novel, call'd *The Unhappy Vow-Breaker*. I never saw Mrs. Barry act with so much passion as she does in it ; I could not forbear being moved even to tears to see her act. Never was poet better rewarded or incouraged by the town ; for besides an extraordinary full house, which brought him about 140l. 50 noblemen, among whom my lord Winchelsea was one, gave him guineas apiece, and the printer 36l. for his copy.

“ This kind usage will encourage desponding minor poets, and vex huffing Dryden and Congreve to madness.

“ We had another new play yesterday, called *The Ambitious Slave, or a generous Revenge*. Elkanah Settle is the author of it, and the success is answerable to his reputation. I never saw a piece so wretched, nor worse contrived. He pretends 'tis a Persian story, but not one body in the whole audience could make any thing of it ; 'tis a mere babel, and will sink for ever. The

sent from a patron, in return for a dedication, was forty shillings.¹

poor poet, seeing the house would not act it for him, and give him the benefit of the third day, made a present of it to the women in the house, who act it, but without profit or encouragement."

In 1707 the common price of the copy-right of a play was fifty pounds; though in that year Lintot the bookseller gave Edmund Smith sixty guineas for his *Phædra and Hippolytus*.

In 1715, Sir Richard Steele sold Mr. Addison's comedy, called *The Drummer*, to J. Tonson for fifty pounds: and in 1721, Dr. Young received the same price for his tragedy of *The Revenge*. Two years before, however, (1719) Southerne, who seems to have understood author-craft better than any of his contemporaries, sold his *Spartan Dame* for the extraordinary sum of 120l.; and in 1726 Lintot paid the celebrated plagiarist, James Moore Smyth, one hundred guineas for a comedy entitled *The Rival Modes*. From that time, this appears to have been the customary price for several years; but of late, (though rarely) one hundred and fifty pounds have been given for a new play. The finest tragick poet of the present age, Mr. JEPHSON, received that price for two of his admirable tragedies.

⁹ See the preface to the quarto edition of *Troilus and Cressida*, 1609: "Had I time, I would comment upon it, though it needs not, for so much as will make you think your *testerne* well bestowed, but for so much worth as even poor I know to be stuf in it," &c.

See also the preface to Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*, a comedy, 1632: "Courteous reader, I beg thy pardon, if I put thee to the expence of a *sixpence*, and the loss of half an hour."

¹ "I did determine not to have *dedicated* my play to any body, because *forty shillings* I care not for; and above, few or none will bestow on these matters." Dedication to *A Woman's a Weathercock*, a comedy, by N. Field, 1612.

See also the *Author's Epistle popular*, prefixed to *Cynthia's Revenge*, 1613: "Thus do our pie-bald naturalists depend upon poor wages, gape after the drunken harvest of *forty shillings*, and shame the worthy *benefactors of Helicon*."

Soon after the Revolution, five, and sometimes ten, guineas seems to have been the customary present on these occasions. In

On the first day of exhibiting a new play, the prices of admiffion appear to have been raifed,² fometimes to double, fometimes to treble, prices;³ and this feems to have been occasionally practifed on the benefit-nights of authors, and on the representation of expenfive plays, to the year 1726 in the prefent century.⁴

the time of George the Firft, it appears from one of Swift's Letters that twenty guineas were ufually prefented to an author for this piece of flattery.

² This may be collected from the following verfes by J. Mayne, to the memory of Ben Jonfon :

“ He that writes well, writes quick, fince the rule's true,
 “ Nothing is flowly done, that's always new ;
 “ So when thy *Fox* had ten times acted been,
 “ Each day was *firft*, but that 'twas cheaper *feen*.”

³ See the laft line of the Prologue to *Tunbridge Wells*, 1672, quoted in p. 101, n. 1.

⁴ Downes, fpeaking of *The Squire of Alfatia*, acted in 1688, fays, “ the poet received for his third day in the houfe in Drury Lane at *single prices*, 130*l.* which was the greateft receipt they ever had at *single prices*.” Hence it appears, that the prices were fometimes raifed ; and after the Reftoration the additional prices were, I believe, demanded during what is called in the language of the theatre, the firft run of a new piece. At leaft this was the cafe in the prefent century. See the Epilogue to *Hecuba*, a tragedy, 1726 :

“ What, a new play, without new fcenes and cloaths !
 “ Without a friendly party from the *Rofe* !
 “ And what againft a *run* ftill prepofteffes,
 “ 'Twas on the bills put up at *common prices*.”

See alfo the Epilogue to *Love at firft Sight* :

“ Wax tapers, gawdy cloaths, *rais'd prices* too,
 “ Yet even the play thus garnifh'd would not do.”

In 1702 the prices of admiffion were in a fluctuating ftate. “ The people,” fays Gildon, “ never were in a better humour for plays, nor were the houfes ever fo crowded, though *the rates have run very high*, fometimes to a scandalous excefs ; never did printed plays rife to fuch a price,—never were fo many poets preferred as in the laft ten years.” *Comparison between the two*

Dramatick poets in ancient times, as at present, were admitted gratis into the theatre.⁵

It appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book that the king's company between the years 1622 and 1641 produced either at Blackfriars or the Globe at least four new plays every year. Every play, before it was represented on the stage, was licensed by the Master of the Revels, for which he received in the time of Queen Elizabeth but a noble, though at a subsequent period the stated fee on this occasion rose to two pounds.

Neither Queen Elizabeth, nor King James the First, nor Charles the First, I believe, ever went to the publick theatre; but they frequently ordered plays to be performed at court, which were represented in the royal theatre called the Cockpit, in Whitehall: and the actors of the king's company were sometimes commanded to attend his majesty in his summer's progress, to perform before him in

Stages, 1702. The price of a printed play about that time rose to eighteen-pence.

⁵ See Verses by J. Stephens, "to his worthy friend," H. Fitz-Jeffery, on his *Notes from Black-fryers*, 1617:

" ——— I must,
 " Though it be a player's vice to be unjust
 " To verse not yielding coyne, let players know,
 " They cannot recompence your labour, though
 " They grace you with a chayre upon the stage,
 " *And take no money of you nor your page.*"

So, in *The Play-house to be let*, by Sir W. D'Avenant:

" *Poet.* Do you set up for yourselves, and profess
 wit,
 " Without help of your authors? Take heed, firs,
 " You'll get few customers.
 " *Housekeeper.* Yes, we shall have the *poets*.
 " *Poet.* 'Tis because they pay nothing for their en-
 trance."

the country.⁶ Queen Henrietta Maria, however, went sometimes to the publick theatre at Black-

⁶ “Whereas William Pen, Thomas Hobbes, William Trigg, William Patrick, Richard Baxter, Alexander Gough, *William Hart*, and Richard Hawley, together with ten more or thereabouts of their fellows, his majesties comedians, and of the regular company of players in the Blackfryers, London, are commaunded to attend his majestie, and be nigh about the court this summer progreſs, in readineſs, when they ſhall be called upon to act before his majestie: for the better enabling and encouraging them whereunto, his majesty is graciously pleased that they ſhall, as well before his majesties ſetting forth on his maine progreſſe, as in all that time, and after, till they ſhall have occaſion to returne homewards, have all freedome and liberty to repayre unto all towns corporate, mercate townes, and other, where they ſhall thinke fitt, and there in their common halls, mootehalls, ſchool-houſes, or other convenient roomes, act playes, comedyes, and interludes, without any lett, hinderance, or moleſtation whatſoever, (behaving themſelves civilly). And herein it is his majesties pleaſure, and he does expect, that in all places where they come, they be treated and entertayned with ſuch due reſpect and courteſie as may become his majesties loyal and loving ſubjects towards his ſervants. In teſtimony whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand and ſeale at arms. Dated at Whitehall, the 17th of May, 1636.

“To all Mayors, &c.

P. and M.”

MS. in the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

This is entitled in the margin—*A Player's Paſſ.*

William Hart, whoſe name occurs in the foregoing liſt, and who undoubtedly was the eldeſt ſon of Joan Hart, our poet's ſiſter, is mentioned in another warrant, with ten others, as a *dependant* on the players,—“employed by his Majesties ſervants of the Blackfryers, and of ſpecial uſe unto them, both on the ſtage and otherwiſe.”

This paper having eſcaped my memory, when a former part of this work was printing,* I ſuggeſted that *Michael* Hart, our poet's youngeſt nephew, was probably the father of Charles Hart, the celebrated tragedian; but without doubt his father was William, (the elder brother of Michael,) who, we find, ſettled in London, and was an actor. It is highly probable that he left Stratford before his uncle Shakspeare's death, at which

* See Vol. I. P. I. p. 162, n. 8; and p. 179, n. 1, of Mr. Malone's edition.

friars.⁷ I find from the Council-books that in the time of Elizabeth ten pounds was the payment for a play performed before her ; that is, twenty nobles, or six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence, as the regular and stated fee ; and three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence, by way of bounty or reward. The same sum, as I learn from the manuscript notes of Lord Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber to King James the First, continued to be paid during his reign : and this was the stated payment during the reign of his successor also. Plays at court were usually performed at night, by which means they did not interfere with the regular exhibition at the publick theatres, which was early in the afternoon ; and thus the royal bounty was for so much a clear profit to the company : but when a play was commanded to be performed at any of the royal palaces in the neighbourhood of London, by which the actors were prevented from deriving any profit from a publick exhibition on the same

time he was sixteen years old ; and in consequence of that connection found an easy introduction to the stage. He probably married in the year 1625, and his son Charles was, I suppose, born in 1626. Before the accession of Charles the First, the christian name of Charles was so uncommon, that it scarcely ever occurs in our early parish-registers. Charles Hart was a Lieutenant under Sir Thomas Dallison in Prince Rupert's regiment, and fought at the battle of Edgehill, at which time, according to my supposition, he was but seventeen years old ; but such early exertions were not at that time uncommon. William Hart, who has given occasion to the present note, died in 1639, and was buried at his native town of Stratford on the 28th of March in that year.

⁷ " The 13 May, 1634, the Queene was at Blackfryers, to see Messengers playe."—The play which her majesty honoured with her presence was *The Tragedy of Cleander*, which had been produced on the 7th of the same month, and is now lost, with many other pieces of the same writer.

day, the fee, as appears from a manuscript in the Lord Chamberlain's office, was, in the year 1630, and probably in Shakspeare's time also, twenty pounds;⁸ and this circumstance I formerly stated, as strongly indicating that the sum last mentioned was a very considerable produce on any one representation at the Blackfriars or Globe playhouse. The office-book which I have so often quoted, has fully confirmed my conjecture.

The custom of passing a final censure on plays at their first exhibition,⁹ is as ancient as the time of

⁸ "Whereas by virtue of his majesties letters patent, bearing date the 16th of June, 1625, made and graunted in confirmation of diverse warrants and privy seales unto you formerly directed in the time of our late soveraigne King James, you are authorized (amongst other things) to make payment for playes acted before his majesty and the queene. Theis are to pray and require you, out of his majesties treasure in your charge, to pay or cause to be payed unto *John Lowing*, in the behalfe of himselfe and the rest of the company his majesties players, the sum of two hundred and sixty pounds; that is to say, *twenty pounds* apiece for four playes acted at Hampton Court, in respect and consideration of the travaile and expence of the whole company in dyet and lodging during the time of their attendance there; and the like somme of *twenty* pounds for one other play which was acted in *the day-time* at Whitehall, by meanes whereof the players lost the benefit of their house for *that day*; and *ten pounds* apiece for sixteen other playes acted before his majestie and the queene at severall times, between the 30th of Sept. and 21st of Feb. last past. As it may appeare by the annexed schedule.

"And theis, &c. March 17, 1630-1."

MS. in the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

⁹ The custom of expressing disapprobation of a play, and interrupting the drama, by the noise of *catcalls*, or at least by imitating the tones of a cat, is probably as ancient as Shakspeare's time; for Decker in his *Guls Hornebook*, counsels the gallant, if he wishes to disgrace the poet, "to *whew* at the children's action, to whistle at the songs, and *mew* at the passionate speeches." See also the Induction to *The Isle of Gulls*, a comedy, 1606: "Either see it all or none; for 'tis grown into a

our author; for no less than three plays¹ of his rival, Ben Jonson, appear to have been deservedly damned;² and Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*,³ and *The Knight of the burning Pestle*, written by him and Beaumont, underwent the same fate.⁴

It is not easy to ascertain what were the emolu-

custom at plays, if any one rise, (especially of any fashionable sort,) about what serious business soever, the rest, thinking it in dislike of the play, (though he never thinks it,) cry—'mew,—by Jesus, vile,'—and leave the poor heartless children to speak their epilogue to the empty seats."

¹ *Sejanus*, *Catiline*, and *The New Inn*. Of the two former, Jonson's *Ghost* is thus made to speak in an epilogue to *Every Man in his Humour*, written by Lord Buckhurst, about the middle of the last century:

" Hold, and give way, for I myself will speak :
 " Can you encourage so much insolence,
 " And add new faults still to the great offence
 " Your ancestors so rashly did commit,
 " Against the mighty powers of art and wit,
 " When they condemn'd those noble works of mine,
 " *Sejanus*, and my best-lov'd *Catiline*?"

The title-page of *The New Inn*, is a sufficient proof of its condemnation. Another piece of this writer does not seem to have met with a very favourable reception; for Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden (Jonson's friend) informs us, that "when the play of *The Silent Woman* was first acted, there were found verses, after, on the stage, against him, [the author,] concluding, that that play was well named *The Silent Woman*, because there was never one man to say *plaudite* to it." Drummond's *Works*, fol. p. 226.

² The term, as well as the practice, is ancient. See the epilogue to *The Unfortunate Lovers*, by Sir W. D'Avenant, 1643:

" ————— our poet——
 " ——— will never wish to see us thrive,
 " If by an humble epilogue we strive
 " To court from you that privilege to-day,
 " Which you so long have had, to *damn a play*."

³ See in p. 122, (n. 8,) Verses addressed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdess*.

⁴ See the epistle prefixed to the first edition of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, in 1613.

ments of a successful-actor in the time of Shakspeare. They had not then annual benefits, as at present.⁵ The clear emoluments of the theatre, after deducting the nightly expences for lights, men occasionally hired for the evening, &c. which in Shakspeare's house was but forty-five shillings, were divided into shares, of which part belonged to the proprietors, who were called housekeepers, and the remainder was divided among the actors, according to their rank and merit. I suspect that the whole clear receipt was divided into forty shares, of which perhaps the housekeepers or proprietors had fifteen, the actors twenty-two, and three were devoted to the purchase of new plays, dresses, &c. From Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, it should seem that one of the performers had seven shares and a half;⁶ but

⁵ Cibber says in his *Apology*, p. 96: "Mrs. Barry was the first person whose merit was distinguished by the indulgence of having an annual benefit-play, which was granted to her alone, if I mistake not, first in King James's time; and which became not common to others, till the division of this company, after the death of King William's Queen Mary."

But in this as in many other facts he is inaccurate; for it appears from an agreement entered into by Dr. D'Avenant, Charles Hart, Thomas Betterton, and others, dated October 14, 1681, that the actors had *then* benefits. By this agreement, five shillings, apiece, were to be paid to Hart and Kynaston the players, "for every day there shall be any tragedies or comedies or other representations acted at the Duke's theatre in Salisbury-court, or wherever the company shall act, during the respective lives of the said Charles Hart and Edward Kynaston, *excepting the days the young men or young women play for their own profit only.*" Gildon's *Life of Betterton*, p. 8.

⁶ "Tucca. Fare thee well, my honest penny-biter: commend me to *seven shares and a half*, and remember to-morrow.—If you lack a *service*, you shall play in my name, rascals; [alluding to the custom of actors calling themselves the *servants* of certain noblemen,] but you shall buy your own cloth, and I'll have *two shares* for my countenance." *Poetaster*, 1602.

of what integral sum is not mentioned. The person alluded to, (if any person was alluded to, which is not certain,) must, I think, have been a proprietor, as well as a principal actor. Our poet in his *Hamlet* speaks of a *whole share*, as no contemptible emolument; and from the same play we learn that some of the performers had only half a share.⁷ Others probably had still less.

⁷ “Would not this, fir, and a forest of feathers, (if the rest of my fortunes turn Turk with me,) with two Provencial roses on my razed shoes, get me a fellowship in a cry of players, fir?”

“*Hor.* Half a share.

“*Ham.* A whole share, I.” *Hamlet*, Act III. sc. ii.

In a poem entitled *I would and I would not*, by B. N. 1614, the writer makes a player utter a wish to possess *five shares* in every play; but I do not believe that any performer derived so great an emolument from the stage, unless he were also a proprietor. The speaker seems to wish for excellence that was never yet attained, (to be able to act every part that was ever written,) that he might gain an emolument *superior* to any then acquired by the most popular and successful actor:

“I would I were a player, and could act

“As many partes as came upon a stage,

“And in my braine could make a full compact

“Of all that passeth betwixt youth and age;

“That I might have *five shares* in every play,

“And let them laugh that bear the bell away.”

The actors were treated with less respect than at present, being sometimes interrupted during their performance, on account of supposed personalities; for the same author adds—

“And yet I would not; for then do I feare,

“If I should gall some *goose-cap* with my speech,

“That he would freat, and fume, and chafe, and swear,

“As if some flea had bit him by the breech;

“And in some passion or strange agonie

“Disturb both mee and all the companie.”

On some occasions application was made by individuals to the Master of the Revels, to restrain this licentiousness of the stage; as appears from the following note:

“Octob. 1633. Exception was taken by Mr. Sewster to the second part of *The Citty Shuffler*, which gave me occasion to stay the play, till the company [of Salisbury Court] had given

It appears from a deed executed by Thomas Killigrew and others, that in the year 1666, the whole profit arising from acting plays, masques, &c. at the king's theatre, was divided into *twelve shares and three quarters*,⁸ of which Mr. Killigrew, the manager, had two shares and three quarters; and if we may trust to the statement in another very curious paper, inserted below, (which however was probably exaggerated,) each share produced, at the lowest calculation, about 250l.⁹ *per ann. net*; and

him satisfaction; which was done the next day, and under his hand he did certifye mee that he was satisfied." *MS. Herbert.*

⁸ In an indenture tripartite, dated December 31, 1666, (which I have seen) between Thomas Killigrew and Henry Killigrew, his son and heir, of the first part, Thomas Porter, Esq. of the second part, and Sir John Sayer and Dame Catharine Sayer, his wife, of the third part, it is recited, (*inter alia*,) that the profits arising by acting of plays, masques, &c. then performed by the company of actors called the king and queen's players, were by agreement amongst themselves and Thomas Killigrew, divided into *twelve shares and three quarters*, and that Thomas Killigrew was to have two full shares and three quarters. And by agreement between Henry and Thomas, Henry was to have four pounds *per week*, out of the two shares of Thomas, except such weeks when the players did not act.

In 1682, when the two companies united, the profits of acting, we are told by Colley Cibber, were divided into *twenty shares*, ten of which went to the proprietors or patentees, and the other moiety to the actors, in different divisions proportioned to their merit.

⁹ Wright says in his *Historia Histrionica* that he had been assured by an old actor, that "for several years next after the Restoration every whole sharer in Mr. Hart's company, [that is, the King's servants,] got 1000l. *per ann.*" But his informer was undoubtedly mistaken, as is proved by the petition or memorial printed below, (see n. 1,) and by Sir Henry Herbert's statement of Thomas Killigrew's profits. If every whole sharer had got 1000l. *per ann.* then the annual receipts must have been near 13,000l. In 1743, after Mr. Garrick had appeared, the theatre of Drury Lane did not receive more than 15,000l. *per ann.*

the total clear profits consequently were about 3187l. 10s. Od.

These shares were then distributed among the proprietors of the theatre, who at that time were not actors, the performers, and the dramatick poets, who were retained in the service of the theatre, and received a part of the annual produce as a compensation for the pieces which they produced.¹

¹ Gildon in his *Laws of Poetry*, 8vo. 1721, observes, that “after the Restoration, when the two houses struggled for the favour of the town, the taking poets were secured to either house by a sort of retaining fee, which seldom or never amounted to more than forty shillings a week, nor was that of any long continuance.” He appears to have under-rated their profits; but the fact to which he alludes is incontestably proved by the following paper, which remained long in the hands of the Killigrew family, and is now in the possession of Mr. Reed of Staple Inn, by whom it was obligingly communicated to me some years ago. The superscription is lost, but it was probably addressed to the Lord Chamberlain, or the King, about the year 1678:

“Whereas upon Mr. Dryden’s binding himself to write three playes a yeere, hee the said Mr. Dryden was admitted and continued as a sharer in the king’s playhouse for diverse years, and received for his *share and a quarter* three or four hundred pounds, *communibus annis*; but though he received the moneys, we received not the playes, not one in a yeare. After which, the house being burnt, the company in building another, contracted great debts, so that shares fell much short of what they were formerly. Thereupon Mr. Dryden complaining to the company of his want of proffit, the company was so kind to him that they not only did not presse him for the playes which he so engaged to write for them, and for which he was paid beforehand, but they did also at his earnest request give him a third day for his last new play called *All for Love*; and at the receipt of the money of the said third day, he acknowledged it as a guift, and a particular kindnesse of the company. Yet notwithstanding this kind proceeding, Mr. Dryden has now, jointly with Mr. Lee, (who was in pension with us to the last day of our playing, and shall continue,) written a play called *Oedipus*, and given it to the Duke’s company, contrary to his said agreement, his promise, and all gratitude, to the great prejudice and almost undoing of

In a paper delivered by Sir Henry Herbert to Lord Clarendon and the Lord Chamberlain, July 11, 1662, which will be found in a subsequent page, he states the emolument which Mr. Thomas Killigrew then derived (from his two shares and three quarters,) at 19l. 6s. Od. *per* week; according to which statement each share in the king's company produced but two hundred and ten pounds ten shillings a year. In Sir William D'Avenant's company, from the time their new theatre, was opened in Portugal Row, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, (April 1662,) the total receipt (after deducting the nightly

the company, they being the only poets remaining to us. Mr. Crowne, being under the like agreement with the duke's house, writt a play called *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, and being forced by their refusall of it, to bring it to us, the said company compelled us, after the studying of it, and a vast expence in scenes and cloaths, to buy off their clayme, by paying all the pension he had received from them, amounting to one hundred and twelve pounds paid by the king's company, besides near forty pounds he the said Mr. Crowne paid out of his owne pocket.

"These things considered, if notwithstanding Mr. Dryden's said agreement, promise, and moneys freely giving him for his said last new play, and the many titles we have to his writings, this play be judged away from us, we must submit.

(Signed)

Charles Killigrew.

Charles Hart.

Rich. Burt.

Cardell Goodman.

Mic. Mohun."

It has been thought very extraordinary that Dryden should enter into a contract to produce three new plays every year; and undoubtedly that any poet should formally *stipulate* that his genius should be thus productive, is extraordinary. But the exertion itself was in the last age not uncommon. In ten years, from the death of Beaumont in 1615 to the year 1625, I have good reason to believe that Fletcher produced near thirty plays. Massinger between 1628 and 1638 brought out nearly the same number; and Shirley in fifteen years furnished various theatres with forty plays. Thomas Heywood was still more prolific.

charges of "men hirelings and other customary expences,") was divided into fifteen shares, of which it was agreed by articles previously entered into,² that ten should belong to D'Avenant; viz. two "towards the house-rent, buildings, scaffolding, and making of frames for scenes; one for a provision of habits, properties, and scenes, for a supplement of the said theatre; and seven to maintain all the women that are to perform or represent women's parts, in tragedies, comedies, &c. and in consideration of erecting and establishing his actors to be a company, and his pains and expences for that purpose for many years." The other five shares were divided in various proportions among the rest of the troop.

In the paper above referred to it is stated by Sir Henry Herbert, that D'Avenant "drew from these ten shares two hundred pounds a week;" and if that statement was correct, each share in his play-house then produced annually six hundred pounds, supposing the acting season to have then lasted for thirty weeks.

Such were the emoluments of the theatre soon after the Restoration; which I have stated here, from authentick documents, because they may assist us in our conjectures concerning the profits derived from stage-exhibitions at a more remote and darker period.

From the prices of admission into our ancient theatres in the time of Shakspeare, which have been already noticed, I formerly conjectured that about twenty pounds was a considerable receipt at the Blackfriars and Globe theatre, on any one day; and my conjecture is now confirmed by indisputable

² These articles will be found in a subsequent page.

evidence. In Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book I find the following curious notices on this subject, under the year 1628 :

" The kinges company with a generall consent and alacritye have given mee the benefitt of too dayes in the yeare, the one in summer, thother in winter, to bee taken out of the second daye of a revived playe, att my owne choyse. The house-keepers have likewyse given their shares, their dayly charge only deducted, which comes to some 2l. 5s. this 25 May, 1628.

" The benefitt of the first day, being a very unseasonable one in respect of the weather, comes but unto £.4. 15. 0."

This agreement subsisted for five years and a half, during which time Sir Henry Herbert had ten benefits, the most profitable of which produced seventeen pounds, and ten shillings, *net*, on the 22d of Nov. 1628, when Fletcher's *Custom of the Country* was performed at Blackfriars ; and the least emolument which he received was on the representation of a play which is not named, at the Globe, in the summer of the year 1632, which produced only the sum of one pound and five shillings, after deducting from the total receipt in each instance the nightly charge above mentioned. I shall give below the receipt taken by him on each of the ten performances ; from which it appears that his clear profit at an average on each of his nights, was £.8. 19. 4.³ and the total nightly receipt was at an average—£.11. 4. 4.

³ 1628. May 25, [the play not named,]—£.4. 15. 0.

" The benefitt of the winters day, being the second daye of an old play called *The Custome of the Cuntrye*, came to £.17. 10. 0. this 22 of Nov. 1628. From the Kinges company att the Blackfryers.

On the 30th of October, 1633, the managers of the king's company agreed to pay him the fixed

1629. "The benefitt of the summers day from the kinges company being brought mee by Blagrove, upon the play of *The Prophetes*, comes to, this 21 of July, 1629,—£.6. 7. 0.

"The benefitt of the winters day from the kinges company being brought mee by Blagrove, upon the play of *The Moor of Venise*, comes, this 22 of Nov. 1629, unto—£.9. 16. 0.

1630. [*No play this summer on account of the plague.*]

"Received of Mr. Taylor and Lowins, in the name of their company, for the benefitt of my winter day, upon the second day of Ben Jonson's play of *Every man in his humour*, this 18 day of February, 1630, [1630-31]—£.12. 4. 0.

1631. "Received of Mr. Shanke, in the name of the kings company, for the benefitt of their summer day, upon ye second daye of *Richard ye Seconde*, at the Globe, this 12 of June, 1631,—£.5. 6. 6.

"Received of Mr. Blagrove, in the name of the kings company, for the benefitt of my winter day, taken upon *The Alchemiste*, this 1 of Decemb. 1631,—£.13. 0. 0.

1632. "Received for the summer day of the kings company ye 6 Novemb. 1631.—£.1. 5. 0.

"Received for the winter day upon *The Wild goose chase*, ye fame day,—£.15. 0. 0.

1633. "R. of ye kings company, for my summers day, by Blagrove, the 6 of June 1633, ye somme of £.4. 10. 0."

I likewise find the following entry in this book :

"Received of Mr. Benfelde, in the name of the kings company, for a gratuity for ther liberty gaind unto them of playinge, upon the cessation of the plague, this 10 of June, 1631,—£.3. 10. 0."—"This (Sir Henry Herbert adds) was taken upon *Pericles* at the Globe."

In a copy of a play called *A Game at Chefs*, 1624, which was formerly in possession of Thomas Pearson, Esq. is the following memorandum in an old hand: "After nine days, wherein I have heard some of the actors say they took fifteen hundred pounds, the Spanish faction, being prevalent, got it suppressed, and the author, Mr. Thomas Middleton, committed to prison." According to this statement, they received above 166l. 12s. on each performance. The foregoing extracts show, that there is not even a semblance of truth in this story. In the year 1685,

sum of ten pounds every Christmas, and the same sum at Midsummer, in lieu of his two benefits, which sums they regularly paid him from that time till the breaking out of the civil wars.

From the receipts on these benefits I am led to believe that the prices were lower at the Globe theatre, and that therefore, though it was much larger than the winter theatre at Blackfriars, it did not produce a greater sum of money on any representation. If we suppose twenty pounds, clear of the nightly charges already mentioned, to have been a very considerable receipt at either of these houses, and that this sum was in our poet's time divided into forty shares, of which fifteen were appropriated to the housekeepers or proprietors, three to the purchase of copies of new plays, stage-habits, &c. and twenty-two to the actors, then the per-

when the London theatres were much enlarged, and the prices of admission greatly increased, Shadwell received by his third day on the representation of *The Squire of Alsatia*, only 130*l.* which Downes the prompter says was the greatest receipt had been ever taken at Drury Lane playhouse at single prices. *Roscarius Anglicanus*, p. 41.

The use of Arabick figures has often occasioned very gross errors to pass current in the world. I suppose the utmost receipt from the performance of Middleton's play for nine days, (if it was performed so often,) could not amount to more than one hundred and fifty pounds. To the sum of 150*l.* which perhaps this old actor had seen as the profit made by this play, his fancy or his negligence added a cipher, and thus made fifteen hundred pounds.

The play of *Holland's Leaguer* was acted six days successively at Salisbury Court, in December, 1631, and yet Sir Henry Herbert received on account of the six representations but *one pound nineteen shillings*, in virtue of the *ninth* share which he possessed as one of the proprietors of that house. Supposing there were twenty-one shares divided among the actors, the piece, though performed with such extraordinary success, did not produce more than *six pounds ten shillings* each night, exclusive of the occasional nightly charges already mentioned.

former who had two shares on the representation of each play, received, when the theatre was thus successful, twenty shillings. But supposing the *average* nightly receipt (after deducting the nightly expences) to be about nine pounds, which we have seen to be the case, then his nightly dividend would be but nine shillings, and his weekly profit, if they played five times a week, two pounds five shillings. The acting season, I believe, at that time lasted forty weeks. In each of the companies then subsisting there were about twenty persons, six of whom probably were principal, and the others subordinate; so that we may suppose *two shares* to have been the reward of a principal actor; six of the second class perhaps enjoyed a whole share each; and each of the remaining eight half a share. On all these *data*, I think it may be safely concluded, that the performers of the first class did not derive from their profession more than ninety pounds a year at the utmost.⁴ Shakspeare, Heminge, Condell, Burbadge, Lowin, and Taylor had without doubt other shares as proprietors or leaseholders; but what the different proportions were which each of them possessed in that right, it is now impossible to ascertain. According to the supposition already stated,

⁴ “ The verye hyerlings of some of our plaiers, [i. e. men occasionally hired by the night] says Stephen Gosson in the year 1579, which stand at reversion of vi s. by the weeke, jet under gentlemen’s noses in futes of filke.” *Schoole of Abuse*, p. 22.

Hart, the celebrated tragedian, after the Restoration had but three pounds a week as an *actor*, that is, about ninety pounds a year; for the acting season did not, I believe, at that time exceed thirty weeks; but he had besides, as a proprietor, six shillings and three pence every day on which there was any performance at the king’s theatre, which produced about £.56. 5. 0. more. Betterton even at the beginning of the present century had not more than five pounds a week.

that fifteen shares out of forty were appropriated to the proprietors, then was there on this account a sum of six hundred and seventy-five pounds annually to be divided among them. Our poet, as author, actor, and proprietor, probably received from the theatre about two hundred pounds a year.—Having after a very long search lately discovered the will of Mr. Heminge, I hoped to have derived from it some information on this subject; but I was disappointed. He indeed more than once mentions his several parts or *shares held by lease in the Globe and Blackfriars playhouses*; ⁵ but uses no expression by which the value of each of those shares can be ascertained. His books of account, which he appears to have regularly kept, and which, he says, will show that his shares yielded him “*a good yearly profit*,” will probably, if they shall ever be found, throw much light on our early stage history.

Thus scanty and meagre were the apparatus and accommodations of our ancient theatres, on which those dramas were first exhibited, that have since engaged the attention of so many learned men, and delighted so many thousand spectators. Yet even then, we are told by a writer of that age, ⁶ “dra-

⁵ See his Will in a subsequent page.

⁶ Sir George Buc. This writer, as I have already observed, wrote an express treatise concerning the English stage, which was never printed, and, I fear, is now irrecoverably lost. As he was a friend of Sir Robert Cotton, I hoped to have found the Manuscript in the Cottonian library, but was disappointed. “Of this art,” [the dramatick] says Sir George, “have written largely *Petrus Victorius*, &c. as it were in vaine for me to say any thing of the art, besides that *I have written thereof a particular treatise*.” *The Third University of England*, printed originally in 1615, and re-printed at the end of Howes’s edition of Stowe’s *Annals*, folio, 1631, p. 1082. It is singular that a

mattick poesy was so lively expressed and represented on the publick stages and theatres of this city, as Rome in the *auge* of her pomp and glory, never saw it better performed; in respect of the action and art, not of the cost and sumptuousness."

Of the actors on whom this high encomium is pronounced, the original performers in our author's plays were undoubtedly the most eminent. The following is the only information that I have obtained concerning them.

similar work on the Roman stage, written by Suetonius, (*De Spectaculis et Certaminibus Romanorum*,) has also perished. Some little account of their scenery, and of the separation of the mimes and pantomimes from comedies, in which they were originally introduced, are the only particulars of this treatise that have been preserved; for which we are indebted to Servius, and Diomedes the grammarian. The latter fragment is curious, as it exhibits an early proof of that competition and jealousy, which, from the first rise of the stage to the present time, has disturbed the peace of the theatres:

"*Latinae vero comœdiæ chorum non habent, sed duobus tantum membris constant, diverbio, et cantico. Primis autem temporibus, ut asserit Tranquillus, omnia quæ in scena versantur, in comœdia agebantur. Nam Pantomimus et Pithaules et Choraules in comœdia canebant. Sed quia non poterant omnia simul apud omnes artifices pariter excellere, si qui erant inter actores comœdiarum pro facultate et arte potiores, principatum sibi artificii vindicabant. Sic factum est, ut nolentibus cedere Mimis in artificio suo cœteris, separatio fieret reliquorum. Nam dum potiores inferioribus, qui in omni ergasterio erant, servire dedignabantur, seipso a comœdia separaverunt: ac sic factum est, ut, exemplo semel sumpto, unusquisque artis suæ rem exequi cœperit, neque in comœdiam venire.*"

Grammaticæ linguæ Auctores Antiqui, Putschii, p. 489, Hanov. 1605.

I have said in a former page (60) that I believed Sir George Buc died soon after the year 1622, and I have since found my conjecture confirmed. He died, as I learn from one of Sir Henry Herbert's papers, on the 20th of September, 1623.

NAMES OF THE ORIGINAL ACTORS

IN

THE PLAYS OF SHAKSPEARE.

FROM THE FOLIO, 1623.

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

HAVING now once more occasion to mention our poet, I shall take this opportunity to correct an error into which I suspect I have fallen, in a note on the Account of his Life; and to add such notices as I have obtained relative either to him or his friends, since that Account was printed off; to which the present article is intended as a supplement.

The words in our poet's will, "Provided that if such husband as she shall at the end of the said three years be married unto," &c. seemed to me to afford a presumptive proof that Shakspeare, when he made his will, did not know of the marriage of his daughter Judith, (the person there spoken of,) which had been celebrated about a month before: a circumstance, however, which even when I stated it, appeared to me very extraordinary, and highly improbable. On further consideration I am convinced that I was mistaken, and that the words above-cited were intended to comprehend her then husband, and any other to whom within three years she might be married. The word *discharge* in the

bequest to Judith, which had escaped my notice,—
 “One hundred pounds in discharge of her marriage portion,”—shows that he must have been apprized of this marriage, and that he had previously *covenanted* to give her that sum.

In the transcript of the instrument by which a coat of arms was granted in 1599 to John Shakspeare, our poet's father,⁷ the original has been followed with a scrupulous fidelity; but on perusing the rough draughts of the former grant of arms in 1596, I am satisfied that there is an error in the later grant, in which the following unintelligible paragraph is found:

“Wherefore being solicited, and by credible report informed, that John Shakspeare, now of Stratford-upon-Avon in the counte of Warwick,

great grandfather
late

gent. whose parent Δ and Δ antecessor for his faithfull and approved service to the late most prudent prince, king Henry VII. of famous memorie, was advaunced with lands and tenements, geven to him in those parts of Warwickshere, where they have continewed by some descents in good reputation and credit,” &c.

On reviewing this instrument, it appeared not very easy to ascertain who the person here alluded to was, if only one was meant; nor is it at all probable that the *great grandfather* of John Shakspeare should have been his late or immediate predecessor; to say nothing of the word *parent*, which, unless it means a *relation* in general, is as unintelligible as

⁷ See *Shakspeare's Coat of Arms*, Vol. I.

the rest. On examining the two rough draughts of the grant of arms to John Shakspeare in 1596, I found that in one of these, (apparently the more perfect of the two,) the corresponding words run thus : “—whose *parents and late antecessors* were for their valour and faithful services to the late most prudent prince king Henry VII.” &c. In the other thus : “—whose *parents* [and] late antecessors for their faithful and valiant service,” &c. The word *their* is in this paper obliterated, and *his* written over it ; and over *antecessors* the word *grandfather* is written. The draughtsman however forgot to draw a line through the word for which *grandfather* was to be substituted. He evidently was in doubt which of the two expressions he should retain ; but we may presume he meant to reject the words “—whose *parents and late antecessors*,” and to substitute instead of them, “—whose *grandfather for his*,” &c.

In the grant of 1599, we have seen, the words originally stood, “—whose *parent and antecessor was*,” and the words *great grandfather* and *late* are interlineations. The writer forgot to erase the original words, but undoubtedly he did not mean that both those and the substituted words should be retained, but that the paragraph should stand thus : “—whose *great grandfather for his faithful and approved service*,” &c. and, instead of “*great grandfather*,” the earlier instrument induces me to think that he ought to have written, “—whose *late grandfather*.”

A minute examination of these instruments led me to inquire what grounds the heralds had for their assertion that our poet's ancestor had been rewarded by a grant of lands from King Henry the Seventh. But it should seem they were satisfied

with very slight evidence of this fact; for after a very careful examination in the chapel of the Rolls,⁸ from the beginning to the end of that reign, it appears, that no such grant was made. If any such had been made by that king, out of the forfeited estates of the adherents of King Richard the Third, or otherwise, it must have passed the great seal, and would have been on record. As therefore it is not found on the rolls, we may be assured that no such grant was made. However, from the words of the early instruments in the herald's office, which have been already quoted, "—for his faithful and *valiant* service," &c. it is highly probable, that our poet's great grandfather distinguished himself in Bosworth field on the side of King Henry, and that he was rewarded for his military services by the bounty of that parsimonious prince, though not with a grant of lands.

Mr. Rowe in his account of our poet's father has said that he had ten children. From the Register of the parish of Stratford-upon-Avon it appears, that ten children of John Shakspeare were baptized there between the year 1558, when the register commenced, and the year 1591. If therefore they were all the children of our poet's father, Mr. Rowe's account is inaccurate; for our poet had a sister named Margaret, born before the commence-

⁸ I cannot omit this opportunity of acknowledging the politeness of Mr. Kipling of the Rolls-office, who permitted every examination which I desired, to be made in the venerable repository under his care; and, with a liberality seldom found in publick offices, would not accept of the accustomed fee, for any search which tended to throw a light on the history of our great dramattick poet.

ment of the Register. It is, however, extremely improbable, that in so numerous a family not one of the sons should have been baptized by the christian name of old Mr. Shakspeare. I now therefore believe (though I was formerly of a different opinion) that our poet's eldest brother bore his father's christian name, *John*; and that, like their eldest sister, Margaret, he was born before the Register commenced. If this was the case, then without doubt the three children who were born between March 1588 and September 1591, Ursula, Humphrey, and Philip, were the issue of this younger John, by his second wife, whose christian name was Mary; and the real number of the children of our poet's father was *nine*. This Mary Shakspeare died in 1608, and is described as a widow. If therefore she was the wife of John Shakspeare the younger, then must he have died before that year.

About twenty years ago, one Mosely, a master-bricklayer, who usually worked with his men, being employed by Mr. Thomas Hart, the fifth descendant in a direct line from our poet's sister, Joan Hart, to new-tile the old house at Stratford, in which Mr. Hart lives, and in which our poet was born, found a very extraordinary manuscript between the rafters and the tiling of the house. It is a small paper-book consisting of five leaves stitched together. It had originally consisted of six leaves, but unluckily the first was wanting when the book was found. I have taken some pains to ascertain the authenticity of this manuscript, and after a very careful inquiry am perfectly satisfied that it is genuine.

The writer, John Shakspeare, calls it his *Will*; but it is rather a declaration of his faith and pious resolutions. Whether it contains the religious

sentiments of our poet's father or elder brother, I am unable to determine. The hand-writing is undoubtedly not so ancient as that *usually* written about the year 1600; but I have now before me a manuscript written by Alleyn the player at various times between 1599 and 1614, and another by Forde, the dramatick poet, in 1606, in nearly the same hand-writing as that of the manuscript in question. The Rev. Mr. Davenport, Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon, at my request endeavoured to find out Mr. Mosely, to examine more particularly concerning this manuscript; but he died about two years ago. His daughter, however, who is now living, and Mr. Hart, who is also living, and now sixty years old, perfectly well remember the finding of this paper. Mosely some time after he found it, gave it to Mr. Peyton, an Alderman of Stratford, who obligingly transmitted it to me through the hands of Mr. Davenport. It is proper to observe that the finder of this relique bore the character of a very honest, sober, industrious man, and that he neither asked nor received any price for it; and I may also add that its contents are such as no one could have thought of inventing with a view to literary imposition.

If the injunction contained in the latter part of it (that it should be buried with the writer) was observed, then must the paper which has thus fortuitously been recovered, have been a copy, made from the original, previous to the burial of John Shakspeare.

This extraordinary will consisted originally of fourteen articles, but the first leaf being unluckily wanting, I am unable to ascertain either its date or the particular occasion on which it was written; both of which probably the first article would have furnished us with. If it was written by our poet's

father, John Shakspeare, then it was probably drawn up about the year 1600; if by his brother, it perhaps was dated some time between that year and 1608, when the younger John should seem to have been dead.

[Since the sheet which contains the will of John Shakspeare was printed, I have learned that it was originally perfect, when found by Joseph Mosely, though the first leaf has since been lost.⁹ Mosely transcribed a large portion of it, and from his copy I have been furnished with the introductory articles, from the want of which I was obliged to print this will in an imperfect state. They are as follows :

I.

“ In the name of God, the father, sonne, and holy ghost, the most holy and blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, the holy host of archangels, angels, patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, apostles, saints, martyrs, and all the celestial court and company of heaven, I John Shakspear, an unworthy member of the holy Catholick religion, being at this my present writing in perfect health of body, and sound mind, memory, and understanding, but calling to mind the uncertainty of life and certainty of death, and that I may be possibly cut off in the blossome of my sins, and called to render an account of all my transgressions externally and internally, and that I may be unprepared for the dreadful trial either by sacrament, penance, fasting, or prayer, or any other purgation whatever, do in

⁹ The lost articles, &c. (here inclosed in crotchets) are supplied from Mr. Malone's *Emendations and Additions* in his Vol. I. Part II. p. 330,—31.

the holy presence above specified, of my own free and voluntary accord, make and ordaine this my last spiritual will, testament, confession, protestation, and confession of faith, hopinge hereby to receive pardon for all my finnes and offences, and thereby to be made partaker of life everlasting, through the only merits of Jesus Christ my saviour and redeemer, who took upon himself the likeness of man, suffered death, and was crucified upon the crosse, for the redemption of finners.

II.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear doe by this present protest, acknowledge, and confess, that in my past life I have been a most abominable and grievous finner, and therefore unworthy to be forgiven without a true and sincere repentance for the same. But trusting in the manifold mercies of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer, I am encouraged by relying on his sacred word, to hope for salvation and be made partaker of his heavenly kingdom, as a member of the celestial company of angels, saints, and martyrs, there to reside for ever and ever in the court of my God.

III.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear doe by this present protest and declare, that as I am certain I must passe out of this transitory life into another that will last to eternity, I do hereby most humbly implore and intreat my good and guardian angell to instruct me in this my solemn preparation, protestation, and confession of faith,] at least spiritually, in will adoring and most humbly beseeching my saviour, that he will be pleased to assist me in so dangerous a voyage, to defend me from the snares and

deceites of my infernall enemies, and to conduct me to the secure haven of his eternall blisse.

IV.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear doe protest that I will also passe out of this life, armed with the last sacrament of extreme unction: the which if through any let or hindrance I should not then be able to have, I doe now also for that time demand and crave the same; beseeching his divine majesty that he will be pleased to anoynt my senses both internal and external with the sacred oyle of his infinite mercy, and to pardon me all my sins committed by seeing, speaking, feeling, smelling, hearing, touching, or by any other way whatsoever.

V.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear doe by this present protest that I will never through any temptation whatsoever despaire of the divine goodness, for the multitude and greatness of my finnes; for which although I confesse that I have deserved hell, yet will I stedfastly hope in gods infinite mercy, knowing that he hath heretofore pardoned many as great finners as my self, whereof I have good warrant sealed with his sacred mouth, in holy writ, whereby he pronounceth that he is not come to call the just, but finners.

VI.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear do protest that I do not know that I have ever done any good worke meritorious of life everlasting: and if I have done any, I do acknowledge that I have done it with a great deale of negligence and imperfection; neither should I have been able to have done the least with-

out the assistance of his divine grace. Wherefore let the devill remain confounded ; for I doe in no wise presume to merit heaven by such good workes alone, but through the merits and bloud of my lord and saviour, jesus, shed upon the crosse for me most miserable sinner.

VII.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear do protest by this present writing, that I will patiently endure and suffer all kind of infirmity, sickness, yea and the paine of death it self: wherein if it should happen, which god forbid, that through violence of paine and agony, or by subtilty of the devill, I should fall into any impatience or temptation of blasphemy, or murmuration against god, or the catholike faith, or give any signe of bad example, I do henceforth, and for that present, repent me, and am most heartily sorry for the same: and I do renounce all the evill whatsoever, which I might have then done or said; beseeching his divine clemency that he will not forsake me in that grievous and paignefull agony.

VIII.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear, by virtue of this present testament, I do pardon all the injuries and offences that any one hath ever done unto me, either in my reputation, life, goods, or any other way whatsoever; beseeching sweet jesus to pardon them for the same: and I do desire, that they will doe the like by me, whome I have offended or injured in any sort howsoever.

IX.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear do heere protest that I do render infinite thanks to his divine majesty for

all the benefits that I have received as well secret as manifest, & in particular for the benefit of my Creation, Redemption, Sanctification, Conservation, and Vocation to the holy knowledge of him & his true Catholike faith: but above all, for his so great expectation of me to penance, when he might most justly have taken me out of this life, when I least thought of it, yea, even then, when I was plunged in the durty puddle of my finnes. Blessed be therefore and praised, for ever and ever, his infinite patience and charity.

X.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear do protest, that I am willing, yea, I do infinitely desire and humbly crave, that of this my last will and testament the glorious and ever Virgin mary, mother of god, refuge and advocate of sinners, (whom I honour specially above all other saints,) may be the chiefe Executresse, togeather with these other saints, my patrons, (saint Winefride) all whome I invocke and beseech to be present at the hour of my death, that she and they may comfort me with their desired presence, and crave of sweet Jesus that he will receive my soul into peace.

XI.

“ *Item*, In virtue of this present writing, I John Shakspear do likewise most willingly and with all humility constitute and ordaine my good Angell, for Defender and Protectour of my soul in the dreadful day of judgement, when the finall sentance of eternall life or death shall be discussed and given; beseeching him, that, as my soule was appointed to his custody and protection when I lived, even so he

will vouchsafe to defend the same at that houre, and conduct it to eternall blifs.

XII.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear do in like manner pray and beseech all my dear friends, parents, and kinsfolks, by the bowels of our Saviour jesus Christ, that since it is uncertain what lot will befall me, for fear notwithstanding least by reason of my finnes I be to pass and stay a long while in purgatory, they will vouchsafe to assist and succour me with their holy prayers and satisfactory workes, especially with the holy sacrifice of the masse, as being the most effectuall meanes to deliver soules from their torments and paines; from the which, if I shall by gods gracious goodnesse, and by their vertuous workes be delivered, I do promise that I will not be ungratefull unto them, for so great a benefitt.

XIII.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear doe by this my last will and testament bequeath my soul, as soon as it shall be delivered and loosened from the prison of this my body, to be entombed in the sweet and amorous coffin of the side of jesus Christ; and that in this life-giving sepulcher it may rest and live, perpetually inclosed in that eternall habitation of repose, there to blesse for ever and ever that direfull iron of the launce, which, like a charge in a censure, formes so sweet and pleasant a monument within the sacred breast of my lord and favour.

XIV.

“ *Item*, lastly I John Shakspear doe protest, that I will willingly accept of death in what manner so-

ever it may befall me, conforming my will unto the will of god; accepting of the same in satisfaction for my finnes, and giving thanks unto his divine majesty for the life he hath bestowed upon me. And if it please him to prolong or shorten the same, blessed be he also a thousand thousand times; into whose most holy hands I commend my soul and body, my life and death: and I beseech him above all things, that he never permit any change to be made by me John Shakspear of this my aforesaid will and testament. Amen.

“ I John Shakspeare have made this present writing of protestation, confession, and charter, in presence of the blessed virgin mary, my Angell guardian, and all the Celestial Court, as witnesses hereunto: the which my meaning is, that it be of full value now presently and for ever, with the force and vertue of testament, codicill, and donation in cause of death; confirming it anew, being in perfect health of soul and body, and signed with mine own hand; carrying also the same about me; and for the better declaration hereof, my will and intention is that it be finally buried with me after my death.

“ Pater noster, Ave maria, Credo.

“ jesu, son of David, have mercy on me.

Amen.”

Since my remarks on the epitaph said to have been made by Shakspeare on John o'Comb, were printed, it occurred to me, that the manuscript papers of Mr. Aubrey, preserved in the Ashmolean

Museum at Oxford, might throw some light on that subject. Mr. Aubrey was born in the year 1625, or 1626; and in 1642 was entered a gentleman commoner of Trinity college in Oxford. Four years afterwards he was admitted a member of the Inner Temple, and in 1662 elected a member of the Royal Society. He died about the year 1700. It is acknowledged, that his literary attainments were considerable; that he was a man of good parts, of much learning and great application; a good Latin poet, an excellent naturalist, and, what is more material to our present object, a great lover of and indefatigable searcher into antiquities. That the greater part of his life was devoted to literary pursuits, is ascertained by the works which he has published, the correspondence which he held with many eminent men, and the collections which he left in manuscript, and which are now repositied in the Ashmolean Museum. Among these collections is a curious account of our English poets and many other writers. While Wood was preparing his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, this manuscript was lent to him, as appears from many queries in his hand-writing in the margin; and his account of Milton, with whom Aubrey was intimately acquainted, is (as has been observed by Mr. Warton) literally transcribed from thence. Wood afterwards quarreled with Mr. Aubrey, whom in the second volume of his *Fasti*, p. 262, he calls his *friend*, and on whom in his History of the University of Oxford he bestows the highest encomium;¹ and,

¹ “ Transmissum autem nobis est illud epitaphium a viro perhumano, Johanne Alberico, vulgo Aubrey, Armigero, hujus collegii olim generoso commensali, jam vero é Regia Societate, Londini; viro inquam, tam bono, tam benigno, ut publico so-

after their quarrel, with his usual warmth, and in his loose diction, he represented Aubrey as “a pretender to antiquities, roving, magottie-headed, and little better than crased.” To Wood every lover of antiquity and literary history has very high obligations; and in all matters of fact he may be safely relied on; but his opinion of men and things is of little value. According to his representation, Dr. Ralph Bathurst, a man highly esteemed by all his contemporaries, was “a most vile person,” and the celebrated John Locke, “a prating, clamorous, turbulent fellow.” The virtuous and learned Dr. John Wallis, if we are to believe Wood, was a man who could “at any time make black white, and white black, for his own ends, and who had a ready knack at sophistical evasion.”² How little his judgment of his contemporaries is to be trusted, is also evinced by his account of the ingenious Dr. South, whom, being offended by one of his witticisms, he has grossly reviled.³ Whatever Wood in a peevish humour may have thought or

lum commodo, nec sibi omnino, natus esse videatur.” *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* L. II. p. 297.

² Letter from Wood to Aubrey, dated Jan. 16, 1689-90. MSS. Aubrey, No. 15, in Mus. Ashmol. Oxon.—Yet in the preface to his *History of the University of Oxford*, he describes Dr. Wallis as a man—“*eruditione pariter et humanitate præstans.*”

³ “Wood’s account of South (says Mr. Warton) is full of malicious reflections and abusive stories: the occasion of which was this. Wood, on a visit to Dr. South, was complaining of a very painful and dangerous suppression of urine; upon which South, in his witty manner, told him, that, ‘if he could not *make water*, he must *make earth*.’ Wood was so provoked at this unseasonable and unexpected jest, that he went home in a passion, and wrote South’s *Life*.” *Life of Ralph Bathurst*, p. 184. Compare Wood’s *Athen. Oxon.* II. 1041.

said of Mr. Aubrey, by whose labours he highly profited, or however fantastical Aubrey may have been on the subject of chemistry and ghosts, his character for veracity has never been impeached; and as a very diligent antiquarian, his testimony is worthy of attention. Mr. Toland, who was well acquainted with him, and certainly a better judge of men than Wood, gives this character of him: "Though he was extremely superstitious, or seemed to be so, yet HE WAS A VERY HONEST MAN, AND MOST ACCURATE IN HIS ACCOUNT OF MATTERS OF FACT. But the facts he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted."⁴ I do not wish to maintain that all his accounts of our English writers are on these grounds to be implicitly adopted; but it seems to me much more reasonable to question such parts of them as seem objectionable, than to reject them altogether, because he may sometimes have been mistaken.

He was acquainted with many of the players, and lived in great intimacy with the poets and other celebrated writers of the last age; from whom undoubtedly many of his anecdotes were collected. Among his friends and acquaintances we find Hobbes, Milton, Dryden, Ray, Evelyn,⁵ Ashmole, Sir William Dugdale, Dr. Bathurst, Bishop Skinner, Dr. Gale, Sir John Denham, Sir Bennet Hoskyns, (son of John Hoskyns, who was well acquainted

⁴ Specimen of a critical history of the Celtick religion, &c. p. 122.

⁵ "With incredible satisfaction I have perused your Natural History of the county of Surrey, and greatly admire both your industry in undertaking so profitable a work, and *your judgment in the several observations you have made.*" Letter from John Evelyn, Esq. to Mr. Aubrey, prefixed to his *Antiquities of Surrey*.

with the poets of Shakspeare's time,) Mr. Josiah Howe, Toland, and many more.⁶ The anecdotes concerning D'Avenant in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, which have been printed in a former page,⁷ were, like the copious and accurate account of Milton, transcribed literally from Aubrey's papers. What has been there suggested, (that D'Avenant was Shakspeare's son,) is confirmed by a subsequent passage in the MS. which has been imperfectly obliterated, and which Wood did not print, though in one of his own unpublished manuscripts now in the Bodleian library he has himself told the same story. The line which is imperfectly obliterated in a different ink, and therefore probably by another hand than that of Aubrey, tells us, (as Mr. Warton who has been able to trace the words through the obliteration, informs me,) that D'Avenant was Shakspeare's son by the hostess of the Crown inn. The remainder of the context confirms this; for it says, that "D'Avenant was proud of being thought so, and had often (in his cups) owned the report to be true, to Butler the poet."—From Dr. Bathurst, Sir Bennet Hoskyns, Lacy the player, and others, Aubrey got some anecdotes of Ben Jonson, which, as this part of the manuscript has

⁶ Hobbes, whose life Aubrey wrote, was born in 1588, Milton in 1608, Dryden in 1630, Ray in 1628, Evelyn in 1621, Ashmole in 1616, Sir W. Dugdale in 1606, Dr. Bathurst in 1620, Bishop Skinner in 1591, Dr. Gale about 1630, Sir John Denham in 1615, Sir Bennet Hoskyns (the son of John Hoskyns, Ben Jonson's poetical father, who was born in 1566,) about 1600, and Mr. Jos. Howe in 1611.

⁷ Vol. I. [among Mr. Malone's *Additional Anecdotes of Shakspeare*.]

not been published, I shall give below;⁸ and from Dryden and Mr. William Beeston, (son of Chris-

⁸ The article relative to this poet immediately precedes that of Shakspeare, and is as follows:

“ MR. BENJAMIN JOHNSON, Poet-Laureat.

“ I remember when I was a scholar at Trin. Coll. Oxon. 1646, I heard Mr. Ralph Bathurst [now Dean of Welles] say, that Ben: Johnson was a Warwyckshire man. 'Tis agreed, that his father was a minister; and by his Epistle DD of *Every Man* ——— to Mr. W. Camden, that he was a Westminster scholar, and that Mr. W. Camden was his schoolmaster. His mother, after his father's death, married a bricklayer, and 'tis g~rally sayd that he wrought some time with his father-in-lawe, & p~ticularly on the garden wall of Lincolns inne next to Chancery lane; and that a knight, a benchler, walking thro, and hearing him repeat some Greeke verses out of Homer, discoursing with him & finding him to have a witt extraordinary, gave him some exhibition to maintain him at Trinity College in Cambridge, where he was——: then he went into the Lowe countreys, and spent some time, not very long, in the armie; not to the disgrace of [it], as you may find in his Epigrammes. Then he came into England, & acted & wrote at the Greene Curtaine, but both ill; a kind of Nursery or obscure playhouse somewhere in the suburbs (I think towards Shoreditch or Clarkenwell). Then he undertooke againe to write a play, & did hitt it admirably well, viz. *Every Man*——— which was his first good one. Sergeant Jo. Hoskins of Herefordshire was his *Father*. I remember his sonne (Sir Bennet Hoskins, Baronet, who was something poetical in his youth) told me, that when he desired to be adopted his sonne, No, sayd he, 'tis honour enough for me to be your brother: I am your father's sonne: 'twas he that polished me: I doe acknowledge it. He was [or rather had been] of a clear and faire skin. His habit was very plain. I have heard Mr. Lacy the player say, that he was wont to weare a coate like a coachman's coate, with flitts under the arm-pitts. He would many times exceede in drinke: Canarie was his beloved liquor: then he would tumble home to bed; & when he had thoroughly perspired, then to studie. I have seen his studyeing chaire, which was of strawe, such as old women used; & as Aulus Gellius is drawn in. When I was in Oxon: Bishop

topher Beeston, Shakspeare's fellow-comedian, who was a long time manager of the Cockpit playhouse

Skinner [Bp of Oxford] who lay at our coll: was wont to say, that he understood an author as well as any man in England. He mentions in his Epigrammes, a sonne that he had, and his epitaph. Long since in King James time, I have heard my uncle Dāvers [Danvers] say, who knew him, that he lived without temple barre at a combe-maker's shop about the Eleph.^{ts} Castle. In his later time he lived in Westminster, in the house under whiche you passe, as you goe out of the church-yard into the old palace; where he dyed. He lyes buried in the north aisle, the path square of stones, the rest is lozenge, opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus de Ros, with this inscription only on him, in a pavement square of blew marble, 14 inches square, O RARE BEN: IONSON: which was donne at the charge of Jack Young, afterwards knighted, who walking there when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen pence to cutt it."

It is observable that none of the biographers of the last age, but Aubrey, appear to have known that Jonson went to the Low Countries, in his younger years; a fact which is confirmed by the conversation that passed between Old Ben and Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, which was not published till eleven years after Mr. Aubrey's death. A long account of Serjeant John Hoskyns, and Skinner, Bishop of Oxford, may be found in Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* I. 614—II. 1156.

Not knowing that this poet had a son who arrived at man's estate, I had no doubt that the reversionary grant of the office of Master of the Revels, which I found in the chapel of the Rolls, was made to Old Ben; [See Mr. Malone's *Shakspeare, Ford, and Jonson*, Vol. II.] but I am now convinced that I was mistaken, and that this grant was made either to his son, Benjamin Jonson the younger, who was also a poet, though he has not been noticed by any of our biographical writers, or to some other person of the same name. A paper which has lately fallen into my hands, pointed out my mistake. It appears that Sir Henry Herbert soon after the Restoration brought an action on the case against Mr. Betterton, for the injury Sir Henry suffered by the performance of plays without the accustomed fees being paid to the Master of the Revels. On the trial it was necessary for him to establish his title to that office; and as the grant made to him was not to take effect till after either the death, resignation, forfeiture, or surrender of Benjamin Jonson and Sir John Aftley, it became necessary to show that those two

in Drury Lane,) some particulars concerning Spenser. I mention these circumstances only to show that Aubrey was a curious and diligent inquirer, at a time when such inquiries were likely to be attended with success.

Dr. Farmer, in his admirable *Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*, by which, as Dr. Johnson justly observed, “the question is for ever decided,” has given an extract from Mr. Aubrey’s account of our poet, and the part which he has quoted has been printed in a former page:⁹ but as the manuscript memoir is more copious, and the account given by Aubrey of our poet’s verses on John o’Combe, (which has never been published,) is materially different from that transmitted by Mr. Rowe, I shall give an exact transcript of the whole article relative to Shakspeare, from the original.

persons were dead: and accordingly it was proved on the trial that the said Benjamin Jonson died, Nov. 20, 1635. The poet-laureat died, August 16, 1637. The younger Jonson was a dramatick author, having in conjunction with Brome, produced a play called *A Fault in Friendship*, which was acted at the Curtain by the Prince’s company in October, 1623; and in 1672 a collection of his poems was published. To this volume are prefixed verses addressed “to all the ancient family of the *Lucyes*,” in which the writer describes himself as “a little stream from that clear spring:” a circumstance which adds support to Dr. Bathurst’s account of his father’s birth-place. It should seem that he was not on good terms with his father. “He was not very happy in his children, (says Fuller in his account of Ben Jonson,) and *most happy in those which died first*, though none lived to survive him.”

⁹ Vol. II. p. 68. Dr. Farmer supposed that Aubrey’s anecdotes of Shakspeare came originally from Mr. Beeston, but this is a mistake. Mr. Beeston is quoted by Aubrey only for some particulars relative to Spenser.

MS. Aubrey, Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. *Lives*,
P. I. fol. 78, a. [Inter Cod. Dugdal.]

MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

“ William Shakespeare’s father was a butcher, and I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours, that when he was a boy, he exercised his father’s trade ; but when he killed a calfe, he would do it in a *high style*, and make a speech. This William, being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London, I gueſſe about 18, and was an actor at one of the playhouſes, and did act exceedingly well. Now Ben Jonſon was never a good actor, but an excellent inſtructor. He began early to make eſſays in dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his plays took well. He was a handſome well ſhaped man ; verie good company, and of a very ready, and pleaſant, and ſmooth witt. The humour of the conſtable in *A Midſommer-night Dreame* he happened to take at Crendon in Bucks, (I think it was Midſommer-night that he happened to be there ;) which is the road from London to Stratford ; and there was living that conſtable about 1642, when I came firſt to Oxon. Mr. Joſ. Howe is of the pariſh, and knew him. Ben Jonſon and he did gather humours of men wherever they came. One time as he was at the taverne at Stratford, Mr. Combes, an old uſurer, was to be buryed ; he makes then this extemporary epitaph upon him :

‘ Ten in the hundred the Devill allowes,
‘ But Combes will have twelve, he ſweares and he vowes ;
‘ If any one aſke who lies in this tomb,
‘ Hoh ! quoth the Devill, ’tis my John o’Comb.’

“ He was wont to go to his native country once a yeare. I think I have been told that he left near 300l. to a fister. He understood latin pretty well ; for he had been in his younger yeares a school-master in the country.”

Let us now proceed to examine the several parts of this account.

The first assertion, that our poet's father was a butcher, has been thought unworthy of credit, because “ not only contrary to all other tradition, but, as it may seem, to the instrument in the herald's-office,” which may be found in a former page.⁹ But for my own part, I think, this assertion, (which it should be observed is positively affirmed on the information of his neighbours, procured probably at an early period,) and the received account of his having been a wool-stapler, by no means inconsistent. Dr. Farmer has illustrated a passage in *Hamlet* from information derived from a person who was at once a wool-man and butcher ; and, I believe, few occupations can be named, which are more naturally connected with each other. Mr. Rowe first mentioned the tradition that our poet's father was a dealer in wool, and his account is corroborated by a circumstance which I have just now learned. In one of the windows of a building in Stratford which belonged to the Shakspeare family, are the arms of the merchants of the staple ;—*Nebule, on a chief gules, a lion passant, or* ; and the same arms, I am told, may be observed in the church at Stratford, in the fret-work over the arch which covers the tomb of John de Clopton, who was a merchant of the staple, and father of Sir Hugh Clopton, Lord Mayor of London, by whom the bridge over the Avon was built. But it should seem from the records of

⁹ Vol. I. p. 146.

Stratford, that John Shakspeare, about the year 1579, at which time our poet was fifteen years old, was by no means in affluent circumstances;¹ and why may we not suppose that at that period he endeavoured to support his numerous family by adding the trade of a butcher to that of his principal business; though at a subsequent period he was enabled, perhaps by his son's bounty, to discontinue the less respectable of these occupations? I do not, however, think it at all probable, that a person who had been once bailiff of Stratford, should have suffered any of his children to have been employed in the servile office of killing calves.

Mr. Aubrey proceeds to tell us, that William Shakspeare came to London and began his theatrical career, according to his conjecture, when he was about eighteen years old;—but as his merit as an actor is the principal object of our present disquisition, I shall postpone my observations on this paragraph, till the remaining part of these anecdotes has been considered.

We are next told, that “he began early to make essays in dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his playes took well.”

On these points, I imagine, there cannot be much variety of opinion. Mr. Aubrey was undoubtedly mistaken in his conjecture, (for he gives it only as conjecture,) that our poet came to London at eighteen; for as he had three children born at Stratford in 1583 and 1584, it is very improbable that he should have left his native town before the latter year. I think it most probable that he did not come to London before the year 1586, when

¹ See Vol. I. p. 58, n. 5.

he was twenty-two years old. When he produced his first play, has not been ascertained; but if Spenser alludes to him in his *Tears of the Muses*, Shakspeare must have exhibited some piece in or before 1590, at which time he was twenty-six years old; and though many have written for the publick before they had attained that time of life, any theatrical performance produced at that age, would, I think, sufficiently justify Mr. Aubrey in saying that he began *early* to make essays in dramatick poetry. In a word, we have no *proof* that he did *not* woo the dramatick Muse even so early as in the year 1587 or 1588; in the first of which years he was but twenty-three: and therefore till such proof shall be produced, Mr. Aubrey's assertion, founded apparently on the information of those who lived very near the time, is entitled to some weight.

“He was a handsome well-shaped man, verie good company, and of a very ready, and pleasant, and smooth witt.”

I suppose none of my readers will find any difficulty in giving full credit to this part of the account. Mr. Aubrey, I believe, is the only writer who has particularly mentioned the beauty of our poet's person; and there being no contradictory testimony on the subject, he may here be safely relied on. All his contemporaries who have spoken of him, concur in celebrating the gentleness of his manners, and the readiness of his wit. “As he was a happy imitator of nature, (say his fellow comedians,) so was he a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.” “My *gentle* Shakspeare,” is the compellation used

to him by Ben Jonson. "He was indeed (says his old antagonist) *honest, and of an open and free nature*; had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expressions; wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped. *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius." So also in his verses on our poet:

" — Look how the father's face
 " Lives in his issue, even so the race
 " Of Shakspeare's *mind and manners* brightly shines
 " In his *well-torned and true-filed* lines."

In like manner he is represented by Spenser (if in *The Tears of the Muses* he is alluded to, which, it must be acknowledged is extremely probable,) under the endearing description of "our pleasant Willy," and "that same gentle spirit, from whose pen flow copious streams of honey and nectar." In a subsequent page I shall have occasion to quote another of his contemporaries, who is equally lavish in praising the uprightness of his conduct and the gentleness and civility of his demeanour. And conformable to all these ancient testimonies is that of Mr. Rowe, who informs us, from the traditional accounts received from his native town, that our poet's "pleasurable wit and good-nature engaged him in the acquaintance and entitled him to the friendship of the gentlemen of his neighbourhood at Stratford."

A man, whose manners were thus engaging, whose wit was thus ready, and whose mind was stored with such a plenitude of ideas and such copious assemblage of images as his writings exhibit, could not but have been what he is represented by Mr. Aubrey, a delightful companion.

"The humour of the constable in *A Midsummer-*

night-Dreame he happened to take at Crendon in Bucks, (I think it was Midsomer-night that he happened to be there :) which is the road from London to Stratford ; and there was living that constable about 1642, when I came first to Oxon. Mr. Jos. Howe is of the parish, and knew him."

It must be acknowledged, that there is here a slight mistake, there being no such character as a constable in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. The person in contemplation undoubtedly was DOGBERRY in *Much Ado about Nothing*. But this mistake of a name does not, in my apprehension, detract in the smallest degree from the credit of the fact itself ; namely, that our poet, in his admirable character of a foolish constable, had in view an individual who lived in Crendon or Grendon, (for it is written both ways,) a town in Buckinghamshire, about thirteen miles from Oxford. Leonard Digges, who was Shakspeare's contemporary, has fallen into a similar error ; for in the eulogy on our poet, he has supposed the character of MALVOLIO, which is found in *Twelfth-Night*, to be in *Much Ado about Nothing*.²

As some account of the person from whom Mr. Aubrey derived this anecdote, who was of the same college with him at Oxford, may tend to establish its credit, I shall transcribe from Mr. Warton's preface to his *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, such notices of Mr. Josias Howe, as he has been able to recover.

" He was born at Crendon in Bucks, [about the year 1611,] and elected a scholar of Trinity College June 12, 1632 ; admitted a fellow, being then bachelor of arts, May 26, 1637. By Hearne he is

² See *Ancient and Modern Commendatory Verses*, in Vol. II. p. 201.

called a great cavalier and loyalist, and a most ingenious man.³ He appears to have been a general and accomplished scholar, and in polite literature one of the ornaments of the university.—In 1644 he preached before King Charles the First, at Christ Church cathedral, Oxford. The sermon was printed, and in red letters, by his majesty's special command.—Soon after 1646, he was ejected from his fellowship by the presbyterians; and restored in 1660. He lived forty-two years, greatly respected, after his restitution, and arriving at the age of ninety, died fellow of the college where he constantly resided, August 28, 1701." Mr. Thomas Howe, the father of this Mr. Josias Howe, (as I learn from Wood,) was minister of Crendon, and contemporary with Shakspeare; and from him his son perhaps derived some information concerning our poet, which he might have communicated to his fellow-collegian, Aubrey. The anecdote relative to the constable of Crendon, however, does not stand on this ground, for we find that Mr. Josias Howe personally knew him, and that he was living in 1642.

I now proceed to the remaining part of these anecdotes:

"Ben Jonson and he did gather humours of men wherever they came. One time as he was at the taverne at Stratford, Mr. Combes,⁴ an old usurer,

³ Rob. Glouc. Gloss. p. 669.

⁴ This custom of adding an s to many names, both in speaking and writing, was very common in the last age. Shakspeare's fellow-comedian, *John Heminge*, was always called Mr. *Hemings* by his contemporaries, and Lord Clarendon constantly writes Bishop *Earles*, instead of Bishop *Earle*.

"S (says Camden in his *Remaines*, 4to. 1605,) also is joyned to most [names] now, as Manors, Knoles, Crofts, Hilles, *Combes*," &c.

was to be buried;⁵ he makes then this extemporary epitaph upon him:

‘ Ten in the hundred the devill allowes,
 ‘ But Combes will have twelve, he swears and he vowes:
 ‘ If any one aske,⁶ who lies in this tomb,
 ‘ Hoh! quoth the devill, ’tis my John o’Combe.”

In a former page I have proved, if I mistake not, from an examination of Mr. Combe’s will, and other circumstances, that no credit is due to Mr. Rowe’s account of our poet’s having so incensed him by an epitaph which he made on him in his presence, at a tavern in Stratford, that the old gentleman never forgave him. And Mr. Aubrey’s account of this matter, which I had not then seen, fully confirms what I suggested on the subject: for here we find, that the epitaph was made after Combe’s death. Nor is this sprightly effusion inconsistent with Shakspeare’s having lived in a certain degree of familiarity with that gentleman; whom he might have respected for some qualities, though he indulged himself in a sudden and playful censure of his inordinate attention to the acquirement of wealth, at a time when that ridicule could not affect him who was the object of it.

⁵ Mr. Combe was buried at Stratford, July 12, 1614. The entry in the Register of that parish confirms the observation made above; for, though written by a clergyman, it stands thus: “ July 12, 1614. Mr. John Combes, Gener.”

⁶ This appears to have been in our poet’s time a common form in writing epitaphs. In one which he wrote on Sir Thomas Stanley, which has been given in Vol. I. p. 91, we again meet with it:

“ *Ask, who lies here,*” &c.

Again, in Ben Jonson’s epitaph on his son:

“ Rest in soft peace, and *ask’d*, say, *here doth lie*

“ Ben Jonson his best piece of poetry.”

Mr. Steevens has justly observed, that the verses exhibited by Mr. Rowe, contain not a jocular epitaph, but a malevolent prediction ; and every reader will, I am sure, readily agree with him, that it is extremely improbable that Shakspeare should have poisoned the hour of confidence and friendship by producing one of the severest censures on one of his company, and so wantonly and publickly express his doubts concerning the salvation of one of his fellow creatures. The foregoing more accurate statement entirely vindicates our poet from this imputation.

These extemporary verses having, I suppose, not been set down in writing by their author, and being inaccurately transmitted to London, appear in an intirely different shape in *Braithwaite's Remaines*, and there we find them affixed to a tomb erected by Mr. Combe in his life-time. I have already shown that no such tomb was erected by Mr. Combe, and therefore Braithwaite's story is as little to be credited as Mr. Rowe's. That such various representations should be made of verses of which the author probably never gave a written copy, and perhaps never thought of after he had uttered them, is not at all extraordinary. Who has not, in his own experience, met with similar variations in the accounts of a transaction which passed but a few months before he had occasion to examine minutely and accurately into the real state of the fact?

In further support of Mr. Aubrey's exhibition of these verses, it may be observed, that in his copy the first couplet is original ; in Mr. Rowe's exhibition of them it is borrowed from preceding epitaphs. In the fourth line, *Ho* (not *Oh ho*, as Mr. Rowe has it,) was in Shakspeare's age the

appropriate exclamation of ROBIN GOODFELLOW, *alias* PUCKE, *alias* HOBGOBLIN.⁷

Mr. Aubrey informs us lastly, that Shakspeare “was wont to go to his native country once a yeare. I thinke I have been told that he left near 300l. to a sifter. He understood Latin pretty well, for he had been in his younger years a school-master in the country.”

Many traditional anecdotes, though not perfectly accurate, contain an adumbration of the truth. It is observable that Mr. Aubrey speaks here with some degree of doubt;—“*I think* I have been told;” and his memory, or that of his informer, led him into an error with respect to the person to whom our poet bequeathed this legacy, who, we find from his will, was his daughter, not his sifter: but though Aubrey was mistaken as to the person, his information with respect to the amount of the legacy was perfectly correct; for 300l. was the precise sum which Shakspeare left to his second daughter, Judith.

In like manner, I am strongly inclined to think that the last assertion contains, though not the truth, yet something like it: I mean, that Shakspeare had been employed for some time in his younger years as a *teacher* in the country; though Dr. Farmer has incontestably proved, that he could not have been a teacher of *Latin*. I have already suggested my opinion, that before his coming to London he had acquired some share of legal knowledge in the office of a petty country conveyancer, or in that of the steward of some manerial court. It is not necessary here to repeat the reasons on which that opinion is founded. If he began to

⁷ See Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 202.

apply to this study at the age of eighteen, two years afterwards he might have been sufficiently conversant with conveyances to have taught others the forms of such legal assurances as are usually prepared by country attorneys; and perhaps spent two or three years in this employment before he removed from Stratford to London. Some uncertain rumour of this kind might have continued to the middle of the last century and by the time it reached Mr. Aubrey, our poet's original occupation was changed from a scrivener's to that of a school-master.

I now proceed to the more immediate object of our present inquiry; our poet's merit as an actor.

“Being inclined naturally (says Mr. Aubrey) to poetry and acting, he came to London, I guess about 18, and was an actor at one of the play-houses, and did act exceedingly well. Now Ben Jonson never was a good actor, but an excellent instructor.”

The first observation that I shall make on this account is, that the latter part of it, which informs us that Ben Jonson was a bad actor, is incontestably confirmed by one of the comedies of Decker; and therefore, though there were no other evidence, it might be plausibly inferred that Mr. Aubrey's information concerning our poet's powers on the stage was not less accurate. But in this instance I am not under the necessity of resting on such an inference; for I am able to produce the testimony of a contemporary in support of Shakspeare's histrionick merit. In the preface to a pamphlet entitled *Kinde-Hartes Dreame*, published in December 1592, which I have already had occasion to quote for another purpose, the author, Henry Chettle, who was himself a dramatick writer, and well ac-

quainted with the principal poets and players of the time, thus speaks of Shakspeare :

“ The other,⁸ whom at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I have moderated the hate of living writers, and might have used my own discretion, (especially in such a case, the author [Robert Greene] being dead,) I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault ; because my selfe have seene his demeanour no less civil than he EXCELLENT *in the qualitie he professes* : besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honestie, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art.”

To those who are not conversant with the language of our old writers, it may be proper to observe, that the words, “ *the qualitie he professes*,” particularly denote his profession as an *actor*. The latter part of the paragraph indeed, in which he is praised as a good man and an elegant *writer*, shows this : however, the following passage in Stephen Gosson’s *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579, in which the very same words occur, will put this matter beyond a doubt. “ Over-lashing in apparell (says Gosson) is so common a fault, that the verie hyerlings of some of our plaiers, which stand at the reversion of vis. by the weeke, jet under gentlemen’s noses in futes of filke, exercising themselves in prating on the stage, and common scoffing when they come abroad ; where they looke askance at every man of whom the sonday before they begged an almes. I speak not this, as though every one

⁸ That by the words *The other*, was meant Shakspeare, has been already shown in the *Essay on the Order of his Plays*, Vol. II. p. 237.

that *profeseth the qualitie*, so abused him selfe; for it is well knowen, that some of them are sober, discreet, properly learned, honest householders, and citizens well thought on amonge their neighbours at home, though the pride of their shadowes (I meane those hange-byes whome they succour with stipend) cause them to be somewhat talked of abroad.”⁹

Thus early was Shakspeare celebrated as an actor, and thus unfounded was the information which Mr. Rowe obtained on this subject. Wright, a more diligent enquirer, and who had better opportunities of gaining theatrical intelligence, had said about ten years before, that he had “heard our author was a better poet than an actor;” but this description, though probably true, may still leave him a considerable portion of merit in the latter capacity: for if the various powers and peculiar excellencies of all the actors from his time to the present, were united in one man, it may well be doubted, whether they would constitute a performer whose merit should entitle him to “bench by the side” of Shakspeare as a poet.

A passage indeed in Lodge’s *Incarnate Devills of the Age*, 1596, has been pointed out, as levelled at our poet’s performance of the Ghost in *Hamlet*. But this in my apprehension is a mistake. The ridicule intended to be conveyed by the passage in question was, I have no doubt, aimed at the actor who performed the part of the Ghost in some miserable play which was produced before Shakspeare commenced either actor or writer. That such a play once existed, I have already shown to be highly

⁹ In the margin this cautious puritan adds—“Some players modest, *if I be not deceived.*”

probable; and the tradition transmitted by Betterton, that our poet's performance of the Ghost in his own *Hamlet* was his *chef d'oeuvre*, adds support to my opinion.

That Shakspeare had a perfect knowledge of his art, is proved by the instructions which are given to the player in *Hamlet*, and by other passages in his works; which in addition to what I have already stated, incline me to think that the traditional account transmitted by Mr. Rowe, relative to his powers on the stage, has been too hastily credited. In the celebrated scene between Hamlet and his mother, she thus addresses him :

- “ ——— Alas, how is't with you ?
 “ That you do bend your eye on vacancy,
 “ And with the incorporeal air do hold discourse ?
 “ Forth at your eyes your spirits wildly peep ;
 “ And, as the sleeping soldiers in the alarm,
 “ Your bedded air, like life in excrements,
 “ Starts up, and stands on end.—Whereon do you look ?
 “ *Ham.* On him ! on him ! look you, how pale he
 glares !
 “ His form and cause conjoin'd, preaching to stones,
 “ Would make them capable. Do not look upon me,
 “ Left with this piteous action, you convert
 “ My stern effects : then what I have to do
 “ Will want true colour ; tears perchance for blood.”

Can it be imagined that he would have attributed these lines to Hamlet, unless he was confident that in his own part he could give efficacy to that *piteous action* of the Ghost, which he has so forcibly described ? or that the preceding lines spoken by the Queen, and the description of a tragedian in *King Richard III.* could have come from the pen of an ordinary actor ?

- “ *Rich.* Come, cousin, can’st thou quake and change
 thy colour?
 “ *Murther thy breath in middle of a word?*
 “ *And then again begin, and stop again,*
 “ *As if thou wert distraught, and mad with terror?*
 “ *Buck.* Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian;
 “ Speak, and look big, and pry on every side,
 “ Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
 “ Intending deep suspicion: ghastly looks
 “ Are at my service, like enforced smiles;
 “ And both are ready in their offices,
 “ At any time, to grace my stratagems.”

I do not, however, believe, that our poet played parts of the first rate, though he probably distinguished himself by whatever he performed. If the names of the actors prefixed to *Every Man in his Humour* were arranged in the same order as the persons of the drama, he must have represented *Old Knowell*; and if we may give credit to an anecdote related in a former page, he was the *Adam* in his own *As you like it*. Perhaps he excelled in representing old men. The following contemptible lines written by a contemporary about the year 1611, might lead us to suppose that he also acted Duncan in *Macbeth*, and the parts of King Henry the Fourth, and King Henry the Sixth:

“ To our English Terence, Mr. WILLIAM
 SHAKESPEARE.

- “ Some say, good Will, which I in sport do sing,
 “ Hadst thou not play’d some *kingly parts* in sport,
 “ Thou hadst been a companion for a king,
 “ And been a king among the meaner sort.
 “ Some others raile, but raile as they think fit,
 “ Thou hast no railing but a raigning wit;
 “ And honesty thou sow’st, which they do reape,
 “ So to increase their stock which they do keepe.”
 The Scourge of Folly, by John Davies, of Here-
 ford, no date.

RICHARD BURBADGE,¹

the most celebrated tragedian of our author's time, was the son of James Burbadge, who was also an actor, and perhaps a countryman of Shakspeare. He lived in Holywell Street, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch; from which circumstance I conjecture that he had originally played at the Curtain theatre, which was in that neighbourhood; for he does not appear to have been born in that parish; at least I searched the Register from its commencement in 1558, in vain, for his birth. It is strange, however, that he should have continued to live from the year 1600 to his death, in a place which was near three miles distant from the Blackfriars playhouse, and still further from the Globe, in which theatres he acted during the whole of that time. He appears to have married about the year 1600; and if at that time we suppose him thirty years old, his birth must be placed in 1570. By his wife, whose christian name was Winefrid, he had four daughters; Juliet, or Julia, (for the name is written both ways in the Register,) who was baptized Jan. 2, 1602-3, and died in 1608; Frances, baptized Sept. 16, 1604; Winefrid, baptized Octob. 5, 1613, and buried in October, 1616; and a second Juliet, (or Julia,) who was baptized Dec. 26, 1614. This child and Frances appear to have survived their father. His fondness for the name of Juliet, perhaps arose from his having been the original Romeo in our author's play.

¹ In writing this performer's name I have followed the spelling used by his brother, who was a witness to his will; but the name ought rather to be *Burbidge*, (as it often formerly was,) being manifestly an abbreviation or corruption of *Borough-bridge*.

Camden has placed the death of Burbadge on the 9th of March, 1619.² On what day he died, is now of little consequence; but to ascertain the degree of credit due to historians is of some importance; and it may be worth while to remark how very seldom minute accuracy is to be expected even from contemporary writers. The fact is, that Burbadge died some days later, probably on the 13th of that month; for his will was made on the 12th, and he was buried in the church of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, on the 16th of March, 1618-19. His last will, extracted from the registry of the Prerogative court, is as follows:

“MEMORANDUM, That on Fridaye the twelfth of March, Anno Domini, one thousand six hundred and eighteen, Richard Burbage of the parish of Saint Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, gent. being sick in body, but of good and perfect remembrance, did make his last will and testament, nuncupative, in manner and form following; viz. He the said Richard did nominate and appoint his well beloved wife, Winifride Burbage to be his sole executrix of all his goods & chattels whatsoever, in the presence and hearing of the persons undernamed:

Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the testator.

✕ The mark of Elizabeth, his wife.

Nicholas Tooley.

Anne Lancaster.

Richard Robinson.

✕ The mark of Elizabeth Graves.

Henry Jackfonne.

² “1619. Martii 9. Richardus Burbadge, alter Roscius, obiit.”
Regni regis Jacobi I. Annalium Apparatus, 4to. 1691.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London, coram iudice, 22^o Aprilis, 1619, juramento Winifride Burbadge, relictæ dicti defuncti et executricis in eodem testamento nominat. cui commissa fuit administratio de bene, &c. jurat."

Richard Burbadge is introduced in person in an old play called *The Returne from Parnassus*, (written in or about 1602,) and instructs a Cambridge scholar how to play the part of King Richard the Third, in which Burbadge was greatly admired. That he represented this character, is ascertained by Bishop Corbet, who in his *Iter Boreale*, speaking of his host at Leicester, tells us,

" — when he would have said, King Richard died,
" And call'd a horse, a horse, he *Burbadge* cry'd."

He probably also performed the parts of King John, Richard the Second, Henry the Fifth, Timon, Brutus, Coriolanus, Macbeth, Lear, and Othello.

He was one of the principal sharers or proprietors of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres; and was of such eminence, that in a letter preserved in the British Museum, written in the year 1613, (MSS. Harl. 7002,) the actors at the Globe are called *Burbadge's Company*.³

³ In Jonson's *Masque of Christmas*, 1616, Burbadge and Heminge are both mentioned as managers: "I could ha' had money enough for him, an I would ha' been tempted, and ha' let him out by the week to the king's players: Master Burbadge hath been about and about with me, and so has old Mr. Heminge too; they ha' need of him."

The following character of this celebrated player is given by Fleckno in his *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, 1664 :

“ He was a delightful Proteus, so wholly transforming himself into his parts, and putting off himself with his cloaths, as he never (not so much as in the tyring house) assumed himself again, untill the play was done.—He had all the parts of an excellent orator, animating his words with speaking, and speech with action ; his auditors being never more delighted than when he spake, nor more sorry than when he held his peace : yet even then he was an excellent actor still ; never failing in his part, when he had done speaking, but with his looks and gesture maintaining it still to the height.”

It should not, however, be concealed, that Fleckno had previously printed this character as a portrait of *An excellent actor*, in general, and there is reason to believe that this writer never saw Burbadge : for Fleckno did not die till about the year 1682 or 1683, and consequently, supposing him then seventy-five years old, he must have been a boy when this celebrated player died. The testimony of Sir Richard Baker is of more value, who pronounces him to have been, “ such an actor, as no age must ever look to see the like.” Sir Richard Baker was born in 1568, and died in 1644-5 ; and appears, from various passages in his works, to have paid much attention to the theatre, in defence of which he wrote a treatise.

In Philpot's additions to Camden's *Remains*, we find an epitaph on this tragedian, more concise than even that on Ben Jonson ; being only, “ *Exit Burbidge.*”

The following old epitaph on Burbadge, which

is found in a MS. in the Museum, (MSS. Sloan, 1786,) is only worthy of preservation, as it shows how high the reputation of this actor was in his own age:

“ Epitaph on Mr. RICHARD BURBAGE, the player.⁴

“ This life’s a play, fcean’d out by natures arte,
 “ Where every man hath his allotted parte.
 “ This man hathe now (as many more can tell)
 “ Ended his part, and he hath acted well.
 “ The play now ended, think his grave to be
 “ The detiring howse of his sad tragedie;
 “ Where to give his fame this, be not afraid,
 “ Here lies the best tragedian ever plaid.”

JOHN HEMINGE

is said by Roberts the player to have been a tragedian, and in conjunction with Condell, to have followed the business of printing;⁵ but it does not

⁴ I did not till lately discover that there is an original picture of this admired actor in Dulwich College, or his portrait should have been engraved for this work. However, the defect will very speedily be remedied by *Mr. Sylvester Harding*, the ingenious artist whom I employed to make a copy of the picture of Lowin at Oxford, which he executed with perfect fidelity; and who means to give the publick in twenty numbers, at a very moderate price, not only all such portraits as can be found, of the actors who personated the principal characters in our author’s plays, while he was on the stage, but also an assemblage of genuine heads of the real personages represented in them; together with various views of the different places in which the scene of his historical dramas is placed. Each plate will be of the same size as that of Lowin, so as to suit the present edition.

⁵ Answer to Pope, 1729.

appear that he had any authority for these assertions. In some tract, of which I have forgot to preserve the title, he is said to have been the original performer of Falstaff.

I searched the Register of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, (in which parish this actor lived,) for the time of his birth, in vain. Ben Jonson in the year 1616, as we have just seen, calls him *old Mr. Heminge*: if at that time he was sixty years of age, then his birth must be placed in 1556. I suspect that both he and Burbadge were Shakspeare's countrymen, and that Heminge was born at Shottery, a village in Warwickshire, at a very small distance from Stratford-upon-Avon; where Shakspeare found his wife. I find two families of this name settled in that town early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth, the daughter of *John Heming* of Shottery, was baptized at Stratford-upon-Avon, March 12, 1567. This John might have been the father of the actor, though I have found no entry relative to his baptism: for he was probably born before the year 1558, when the Register commenced. In the village of Shottery also lived *Richard Hemyng*, who had a son christened by the name of John, March 7, 1570. Of the Burbadge family the only notice I have found, is, an entry in the Register of the parish of Stratford, October 12, 1565, on which day Philip Green was married in that town to *Ursula Burbadge*, who might have been sister to James Burbadge, the father of the actor, whose marriage I suppose to have taken place about that time. If this conjecture be well founded, our poet, we see, had an easy introduction to the theatre.

John Heminge appears to have married in or before the year 1589, his eldest daughter, Alice,

having been baptized October 6, 1590. Beside this child, he had four sons; John, born in 1598, who died an infant; a second John, baptized August 7, 1599; William, baptized October 3, 1602, and George, baptized February 11, 1603-4; and eight daughters; Judith, Thomasine, Joan, Rebecca, Beatrice, Elizabeth, Mary, (who died in 1611,) and Margaret. Of his daughters, four only appear to have been married; Alice to John Atkins in January, 1612-13; Rebecca to Captain William Smith; Margaret to Mr. Thomas Sheppard, and another to a person of the name of Merefield. The eldest son, John, probably died in his father's lifetime, as by his last will he constituted his son William his executor.

William, whose birth Wood has erroneously placed in 1605, was a student of Christ Church, Oxford, where he took the degree of a Master of Arts in 1628. Soon after his father's death he commenced a dramatick poet, having produced in March, 1632-3, a comedy entitled *The Courfinge of a Hare, or the Madcapp*,⁶ which was performed at the Fortune theatre, but is now lost. He was likewise author of two other plays which are extant; *The Fatal Contract*, published in 1653, and *The Jews Tragedy*, 1662.

From an entry in the Council-books at Whitehall, I find that John Heminge was one of the principal proprietors of the Globe playhouse, before the death of Queen Elizabeth. He is joined with Shakspeare, Burbadge, &c. in the licence granted by King James, immediately after his accession to the throne in 1603.; and all the payments made by the Treasurer of the Chamber in

⁶ MS. Herbert.

1613, on account of plays performed at court, are "to *John Heminge* and the rest of his fellows." So also in several subsequent years, in that and the following reign. In 1623, in conjunction with Condell, he published the first complete edition of our author's plays; soon after which it has been supposed that he withdrew from the theatre; but this is a mistake. He certainly then ceased to act,⁷ but he continued chief director of the king's company of comedians to the time of his death. He died at his house in Aldermanbury, where he had long lived, on the 10th of October, 1630, in, as I conjecture, the 74th or 75th year of his age, and was buried on the 12th, as appears by the Register of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, in which he is styled, "*John Heminge, player.*"

I suspect he died of the plague, which had raged so violently that year, that the playhouses were shut up in April, and not permitted to be opened till the 12th of November, at which time the weekly bill of those who died in London of that distemper, was diminished to twenty-nine.⁸ His son William, into whose hands his papers must have fallen, survived him little more than twenty years, having died some time before the year 1653: and where those books of account of which his father

⁷ That he and Condell had ceased to act in the year 1623, is ascertained by a passage in their Address "to the great varietie of readers," prefixed to our poet's plays. "Read him therefore, and againe, and againe: and if then you do not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger not to understand him. And so we leave you to *other of his friends*, whom if you need, can be your guides." i. e. their fellow-comedians, who still continued on the stage, and, by representing our author's plays, could elucidate them, and thus serve as guides to the publick.

⁸ MS. Herbert.

speaks, now are, cannot be ascertained. One cannot but entertain a wish, that at some future period they may be discovered, as they undoubtedly would throw some light on our ancient stage-history. The day before his death, John Heminge made his will, of which I subjoin a copy, extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court. In this instrument he styles himself *a grocer*, but how he obtained his freedom of the Grocers' Company, does not appear.

“ **I**N the name of God, Amen, the 9th day of October, 1630, and in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. I John Heminge, citizen and grocer of London, being of perfect mind and memory, thanks be therefore given unto Almighty God, yet well knowing and considering the frailty and uncertainty of man's life, do therefore make, ordain, and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following.

First, and principally, I give and bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker and Creator, hoping and assuredly believing through the only merits, death and passion, of Jesus Christ my saviour and redeemer, to obtain remission and pardon of all my sins, and to enjoy eternal happiness in the kingdom of heaven ; and my body I commit to the earth, to be buried in christian manner, in the parish church of Mary Aldermanbury in London, as near unto my loving wife Rebecca Heminge, who lieth there interred, and under the same stone which lieth in part over her there, if the same conveniently may be : wherein I do desire my executor herein after named carefully to see my

will performed, and that my funeral may be in decent and comely manner performed in the evening, without any vain pomp or cost therein to be bestowed.

Item, My will is, that all such debts as I shall happen to owe at the time of my decease to any person or persons, (being truly and properly mine own debts,) shall be well and truly satisfied and paid as soon after my decease as the same conveniently may be; and to that intent and purpose my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that all my leases, goods, chattles, plate, and household stuffe whatsoever, which I leave or shall be possessed of at the time of my decease, shall immediately after my decease be sold to the most and best benefit and advantage that the same or any of them may or can, and that the monies thereby raised shall go and be employed towards the payment and discharge of my said debts, as soon as the same may be converted into monies and be received, without fraud or covin; and that if the same leases, goods, and chattles, shall not raise so much money as shall be sufficient to pay my debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby will and appoint, that the moiety or one half of the yearly benefit and profit of the several parts which I have by lease in the several play-houses of the Globe and Black-fryers, for and during such time and term as I have therein, be from time to time received and taken up by my executor herein after named, and by him from time to time faithfully employed towards the payment of such of my said own proper debts which shall remain unsatisfied, and that proportionably to every person and persons to whom I shall then remain indebted, until by the said moiety or one

half of the said yearly benefit and profit of the said parts they shall be satisfied and paid without fraud or covin. And if the said moiety or one half of the said yearly benefit of my said parts in the said play-houses shall not in some convenient time raise sufficient moneys to pay my said own debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that the other moiety or half part of the benefit and profit of my said parts in the said play-houses be also received and taken up by my said executor herein after named, and faithfully from time to time employed and paid towards the speedier satisfaction and payment of my said debts. And then, after my said debts shall be so satisfied and paid, then I limit and appoint the said benefit and profit arising by my said parts in the said play-houses, and the employment of the same, to be received and employed towards the payment of the legacies by me herein after given and bequeathed, and to the raising of portions for such of my said children as at the time of my decease shall have received from me no advancement. And I do hereby desire my executor herein after named to see this my will and meaning herein to be well and truly performed, according to the trust and confidence by me in him reposed.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto my daughter Rebecca Smith, now wife of Captain William Smith, my best suit of linen, wrought with cutwork, which was her mother's; and to my son Smith, her husband, his wife's picture, set up in a frame in my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Margaret Sheppard, wife of Mr. Thomas Sheppard, my red cushions embroidered with bugle, which were her mother's; and to my said son Sheppard,

his wife's picture, which is also set up in a frame in my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth, my green cushions which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Merefield my clothe-of-silver striped cushions which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto so many of my daughter Merefield's, and my daughter Sheppard's children, as shall be living at the time of my decease, fifty shillings apiece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my grandchild, Richard Atkins, the sum of five pounds of lawful money of England, to buy him books.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my son-in-law John Atkins, and his now wife, if they shall be living with me at the time of my decease, forty shillings, to make them two rings, in remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto every of my fellows and sharers, his majesties servants which shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of ten shillings apiece, to make them rings for remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto John Rice, Clerk, of St. Saviour's in Southwark, (if he shall be living at the time of my decease,) the sum of twenty shillings of lawful English money, for a remembrance of my love unto him.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where I long lived, and whither I have bequeathed my body for burial, the sum of forty shillings of lawful English money, to be distributed by the churchwardens of the same parish where most need shall be.

Item, My will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint that the several legacies and sums of money by me herein before bequeathed to be paid in money, be raised and taken out of the yearly profit and benefit which shall arise or be made by my several parts and shares in the several playhouses called the Globe and Blackfriars, after my said debts shall be paid, with as much speed as the same conveniently may be; and I do hereby will, require, and charge my executor herein after named especially to take care that my debts, first, and then those legacies, be well and truly paid and discharged, as soon as the same may be so raised by the sale of my goods and by the yearly profits of my parts and shares; and that my estate may be so ordered to the best profit and advantage for the better payment of my debts and discharge of my legacies before mentioned with as much speed as the same conveniently may be, according as I have herein before in this will directed and appointed the same to be, without any lessening, diminishing, or undervaluing thereof, contrary to my true intent and meaning herein declared. And for the better performance thereof, my will, mind, and desire is, that my said parts in the said play-houses should be employed in playing, the better to raise profit thereby, as formerly the same have been, and have yielded good yearly profit, as by my books will in that behalf appear. And my will and mind is, and I do hereby ordain, limit, and appoint, that after my debts, funerals, and legacies shall be paid and satisfied out of my estate, that then the residue and remainder of my goods, chattels, and credits whatsoever shall be equally parted and divided to and amongst such of my children as at the time of my decease shall be unmarried or unadvanced, and shall

not have received from me any portion in marriage or otherwise, further than only for their education and breeding, part and part like ; and I do hereby ordain and make my son William Heminge to be the executor of this my last will and testament, requiring him to see the same performed in and by all things, according to my true meaning herein declared. And I do desire and appoint my loving friends Mr. Burbage⁹ and Mr. Rice to be the overseers of this my last will and testament, praying them to be aiding and assisting to my said executor with their best advice and council in the execution thereof : and I do hereby utterly revoke all former wills by me heretofore made, and do pronounce, publish, and declare this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Probatum fuit testamentum superscriptum apud London coram venerabili viro, magistro Wilhelmo James, legum doctore, Surrogato, undecimo die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini, 1630, juramento Willielmi Heminge filii naturalis et legitim. dicti defuncti, et executoris, cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat.

AUGUSTINE PHILIPS.

This performer is likewise named in the licence granted by King James in 1603. It appears from Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, printed in 1612, that he was then dead. In an extraordinary exhibition,

⁹ Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the actor.

entitled *The Seven deadly Sins*, written by Tarleton, of which the MS. plot or scheme is in my possession, he represented *Sardanapalus*. I have not been able to learn what parts he performed in our author's plays; but believe that he was in the same class as Kempe, and Armine; for he appears, like the former of these players, to have published a ludicrous metrical piece, which was entered on the Stationers' books in 1595. Philips's production was entitled *The Jigg of the Slippers*.

WILLIAM KEMPE

was the successor of Tarleton. "Here I must needs remember Tarleton, (says Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*,) in his time gracious with the queen his soveraigne, and in the people's general applause; whom succeeded *Will. Kemp*, as well in the favour of her majestie, as in the opinion and good thoughts of the general audience." From the quarto editions of some of our author's plays, we learn that he was the original performer of Dogberry in *Much Ado about Nothing*, and of Peter in *Romeo and Juliet*. From an old comedy called *The Return from Parnassus*, we may collect that he was the original Justice Shallow; and the contemporary writers inform us that he usually acted the part of a Clown; in which character, like Tarleton, he was celebrated for his *extemporal* wit.¹ Launcelot in *The Merchant of Venice*, Touchstone in *As you like it*, Launce in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and the Gravedigger in *Hamlet*, were probably also performed by this comedian. He was an author as well as an actor.²

¹ See p. 138, n. 1.

² See *The Returne from Parnassus*, a comedy, 1606: "In-

So early as in the year 1589 Kempe's comick talents appear to have been highly estimated; for an old pamphlet called *An Almond for a Parrot*, written, I think, by Thomas Nashe, and published about that time, is dedicated "to that most comical and conceited Cavaleire *Monsieur du Kempe*, Jestmonger, and vice-gerent generall to the Ghost of Dicke Tarleton."

From a passage in one of Decker's tracts it may be presumed that this comedian was dead in the year 1609.³

deed, *M. Kempe*, you are very famous, but that is as well for *workes in print* as your part in cue." Kempe's *New Jigg of the Kitchen-stuff Woman* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in 1595; and in the same year was licensed to Thomas Goffon, "*Kempes New Jigge betwixt a Souldier and a Miser and Sym the Clowne.*"

Sept. 7, 1593, was entered on the Stationers' books, by R. Jones, "A comedie entitled *A Knack how to know a Knave*, newly set forth, as it hath been fundrye times plaied by Ned Allen and his company, with *Kempes* applauded merrymment of *The Men of Gotham.*"

In the Bodleian Library, among the books given to it by Robert Burton, is the following tract, bound up with a few others of the same size, in a quarto volume marked L, 62d. art.:

"Kemps nine daies wonder performed in a daunce from London to Norwich. Containing the pleasure, paines and kind entertainment of William Kemp between London and that city, in his late morrice. Wherein is somewhat set downe worth note; to reprocue the flaunders spred of him: many things merry, nothing hurtfull. Written by himselfe, to satisfie his friends." (Lond. E. A. for Nicholas Ling. 1600. b. 1.—With a wooden cut of Kempe as a morris-dancer, preceded by a fellow with a pipe and drum, whom he (in the book) calls Thomas Slye, his taberer. It is dedicated to "The true ennobled lady, and most bountifull mistris, mistris Anne Fitton, mayde of honour to the most sacred mayde royall queene Elizabeth.")

³ "Tush, tush, Tarleton, *Kempe*, nor Singer, nor all the litter of fooles that *now* come drawling behind them, never played the clownes part more naturally than the arrantest sot of you all." *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609.

In Braithwaite's *Remains*, 1618, he is thus commemorated :

“ UPON KEMPE AND HIS MORICE, WITH HIS
EPITAPH.

“ Welcome from Norwich, Kempe : all joy to see
“ Thy safe return moriscoed lustily.
“ But out alas ! how soone's thy morice done,
“ When pipe and tabor, all thy friends be gone ;
“ And leave thee now to dance the second part
“ With feeble nature, not with nimble art !
“ Then all thy triumphs fraught with strains of mirth,
“ Shall be cag'd up within a chest of earth :
“ Shall be? they are; thou hast danc'd thee out of breath;
“ And now must make thy parting dance with death.”

THOMAS POPE.

This actor likewise performed the part of a Clown.⁴ He died before the year 1600.⁵

GEORGE BRYAN.

I have not been able to gather any intelligence concerning this performer, except that in the exhibition of *The Seven deadly Sins* he represented the Earl of Warwick. He was, I believe, on the stage before the year 1588.

⁴ “ ——— what meanes Singer then,
“ And Pope, the clowne, to speak so borish, when
“ They counterfaite the clownes upon the stage ?”
*Humours Ordinaire, where a Man may be verie
merie and exceeding well used for Sixpence.*
(No date.)

⁵ Heywood's *Apology for Actors*.

HENRY CUNDALL

is said by Roberts the player to have been a comedian, but he does not mention any other authority for this assertion but stage-tradition. In Webster's *Dutchess of Malfy* he originally acted the part of the Cardinal; and as, when that play was printed in 1623, another performer had succeeded him in that part, he had certainly before that time retired from the stage. He still, however, continued to have an interest in the theatre, being mentioned with the other players to whom a licence was granted by King Charles the First in 1625. He had probably a considerable portion of the *shares* or property of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres. This actor as well as Heminge lived in Aldermanbury, in which parish he served the office of *Sideman* in the year 1606. I have not been able to ascertain his age; but he appears to have married about the year 1598, and had eight children, the eldest of whom was born in Feb. 1598-99, and died an infant. Three only of his children appear to have survived him; Henry, born in 1600; Elizabeth in 1606; and William, baptized May 26, 1611. Before his death he resided for some time at Fulham, but he died in London, and was buried in his parish church in Aldermanbury, Dec. 29, 1627. On the 13th of that month he made his will, of which I subjoin a copy, extracted from the registry of the Prerogative Court:

“ In the name of God, Amen. I Henry Cundall of London, gentleman, being sick in body, but of perfect mind and memory, laud and praise be

therefore given to Almighty God, calling to my remembrance that there is nothing in this world more sure and certain to mankind than death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour thereof, do therefore make and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following, that is to say; first I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, trusting and assuredly believing that only by the merits of the precious death and passion of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ I shall obtain full and free pardon and remission of all my sins, and shall enjoy everlasting life in the kingdom of heaven, amongst the elect children of God. My body I commit to the earth, to be decently buried in the night-time in such parish where it shall please God to call me. My worldly substance I dispose of as followeth. And first concerning all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, whereof I am and stand seized of any manner of estate of inheritance, I give, devise and bequeath the same as followeth:

“ *Imprimis*, I give, devise and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, situate, lying and being in Helmet-court in the Strand, and elsewhere, in the county of Middlesex, unto Elizabeth my well beloved wife, for and during the term of her natural life; and from and immediately after her decease, unto my son Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for want of such issue unto my son William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten; and for default of such issue unto my daughter

Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever.

Item, I give, devise and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, situate, lying and being in the parish of St. Bride, alias Bridgett, near Fleet-street, London, and elsewhere in the city of London, and the suburbs thereof, unto my well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall and to her assigns, untill my said son William Cundall his term of apprenticeship shall be fully expired by effluxion of time; and from and immediately after the said term of apprenticeship shall be so fully expired, I give, devise and bequeath the said messuages and premises situate in the city of London, and the suburbs thereof, unto my said son William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue, unto my said son Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue unto my said daughter Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever. And as concerning all and singular my goods, chattels, plate, household stuff, ready money, debts, and personal estate, whatsoever and wheresoever, I give, devise, and bequeath the same as followeth: viz.

Imprimis, Whereas I am executor of the last will and testament of John Underwood, deceased, and by force of the same executorship became possessed of so much of the personal estate of the said John Underwood, which is expressed in an inventory thereof, made and by me exhibited in due form of law into the ecclesiastical court. And whereas also in discharge of my said executorship I have from time to time disbursed divers sums of money in the

education and bringing up of the children of the said John Underwood deceased as by my accompts kept in that behalf appeareth. Now in discharge of my conscience, and in full performance of the trust reposed in me by the said John Underwood, I do charge my executrix faithfully to pay to the surviving children of the said John Underwood all and whatsoever shall be found and appear by my accompts to belong unto them, and to deliver unto them all such rings as was their late father's, and which are by me kept by themselves apart in a little casket.

Item, I do make, name, ordain and appoint my said well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, the full and sole executrix of this my last will and testament, requiring and charging her, as she will answer the contrary before Almighty God at the dreadful day of judgment, that she will truly and faithfully perform the same, in and by all things according to my true intent and meaning; and I do earnestly desire my very loving friends, John Heminge, gentleman, Cuthbert Burbage, gentleman, my son-in-law Herbert Finch, and Peter Saunderfon, grocer, to be my overseers, and to be aiding and assisting unto my said executrix in the due execution and performance of this my last will and testament. And I give and bequeath to every of my said four overseers the sum of five pounds apiece to buy each of them a piece of plate.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto my said son William Cundall, all the clear yearly rents and profits which shall arise and come from the time of my decease, of and by my leases and terms of years, of all my messuages, houses, and places, situate in the Blackfriars London, and at the Bankside in the county of Surry, until such time as that the full sum of three hundred pounds by those rents

and profits may be raised for a stock for my said son William,⁶ if he shall so long live.

Item, for as much as I have by this my will dealt very bountifully with my well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall, considering my estate, I do give and bequeath unto my son Henry Cundall, for his maintenance, either at the university or elsewhere, one annuity or yearly sum of thirty pounds of lawful money of England, to be paid unto my said son Henry Cundall, or his assigns, during all the term of the natural life of the said Elizabeth my wife, if my said son Henry Cundall shall so long live, at the four most usual feast-days or terms in the year, that is to say, at the feasts of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, Nativity of Saint John Baptist, and St. Michael the Archangel; or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days, by even and equal portions: the first payment thereof to begin and to be made at such of the said feast-days as shall first and next happen after the day of my decease, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast-day.

Item, I give and bequeath unto widow Martin and widow Gimber, to each of them respectively, for and during all the terms of their natural lives severally, if my leases and terms of years of and in my houses in Aldermanbury in London shall so long continue unexpired, one annuity or yearly sum of twenty shillings apiece, of lawful money of England, to be paid unto them severally, by even portions quarterly, at the feast-days above men-

⁶ He was probably bound apprentice to Peter Saunderson, grocer.

tioned, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days; the first payment of them severally to begin and to be made at such of the said feasts as shall first and next happen after my decease or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto the poor people of the parish of Fulham in the county of Middlesex, where I now dwell, the sum of five pounds, to be paid to master Doctor Clewett, and master Edmond Powell of Fulham, gentleman, and by them to be distributed.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my said well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall, and to my said well beloved daughter Elizabeth Finch, all my household stuff, bedding, linen, brasse, and pewter whatsoever, remaining and being as well at my house in Fulham aforesaid, as also in my house in Aldermanbury in London; to be equally divided between them part and part alike. And for the more equal dealing in that behalf, I will, appoint, and request my said overseers, or the greater number of them, to make division thereof, and then my wife to have the preferment of the choice.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my cousin Frances Gurney, alias Hulse, my aunt's daughter, the sum of five pounds, and I give unto the daughter of the said Frances the like sum of five pounds.

Item, I give, devise and bequeath unto such and so many of the daughters of my cousin Gilder, late of New Buckenham in the county of Norfolk, deceased, as shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of five pounds apiece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my old servant

Elizabeth Wheaton, a mourning gown and forty shillings in money, and that place or priviledge which she now exerciseth and enjoyeth in the houses of the Blackfryers, London, and the Globe on the Bankside, for and during all the term of her natural life, if my estate shall so long continue in the premises; and I give unto the daughter of the said Elizabeth Wheaton the sum of five pounds, to be paid unto the said Elizabeth Wheaton, for the use of her said daughter, within the space of one year next after my decease. And I do hereby will, appoint and declare, that an acquittance under the hand and seal of the said Elizabeth Wheaton, upon the receipt of the said legacy of five pounds, for the use of her said daughter, shall be, and shall be deemed, adjudged, construed, and taken to be, both in law and in equity, unto my now executrix a sufficient release and discharge for and concerning the payment of the same.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, all the rest and residue of my goods, chattels, leases, money, debts, and personal estate, whatsoever, and wheresoever, (after my debts shall be paid and my funeral charges and all other charges about the execution of this my will first paid and discharged) unto my said well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall.

Item, My will and mind is, and I do hereby desire and appoint, that all such legacies, gifts and bequests as I have by this my will given, devised or bequeathed unto any person or persons, for payment whereof no certain time is hereby before limited or appointed, shall be well and truly paid by my executrix within the space of one year next after my decease. Finally, I do hereby revoke, countermand, and make void, all former wills,

testaments, codicils, executors, legacies, and bequests, whatsoever, by me at any time heretofore named, made, given, or appointed; willing and minding that these presents only shall stand and be taken for my last will and testament, and none other. In witness whereof I the said Henry Cundall, the testator, to this my present last will and testament, being written on nine sheets of paper, with my name subscribed to every sheet, have set my seal, the thirteenth day of December, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign lord Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

HENRY CUNDALL.

Signed, sealed, pronounced and declared, by the said Henry Cundall, the testator, as his last will and testament, on the day and year above written, in the presence of us whose names are here under written :

Robert Yonge.

Hum. Dyson, Notary Publique.

And of me Ro. Dickens, servant unto the said Notary."

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud Lond. coram magistro Richardo Zouche, legum doctore, Surrogato, 24^o die Februarii, 1627, juramento Elizabethæ Cundall, relictæ dicti defuncti et executr. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat.

WILLIAM SLY

was joined with Shakspeare, &c. in the licence granted in 1603.—He is introduced, personally, in the Induction to Marston's *Malecontent*, 1604, and from his there using an affected phrase of Ofrick's in *Hamlet*, we may collect that he performed that part. He died before the year 1612.⁷

RICHARD COWLEY

appears to have been an actor of a low class, having performed the part of Verges in *Much Ado about Nothing*. He lived in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and had two sons baptized there; Cuthbert, born in 1597, and Richard, born in 1599. I know not when this actor died.

JOHN LOWIN

was a principal performer in these plays. If the date on his picture⁸ in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford is accurate, he was born in 1576. Wright mentions in his *Historia Histrionica* that “before the wars he used to act the part of Falstaff with mighty applause;” but without doubt he means during the reign of King Charles the First, from

⁷ Heywood's *Apology for Actors*.

⁸ This date, which the engraver of the annexed portrait [i. e. in Mr. Malone's edition, 1790,] has inadvertently omitted, is—“1640, Ætat. 64.”

1625 to 1641. When our poet's *King Henry IV.* was first exhibited, Lowin was but twenty-one years old; it is therefore probable that Heminge, or some other actor originally represented the fat knight, and that several years afterwards the part was resigned to Lowin.

He is said by Roberts the player to have also performed King Henry the Eighth and Hamlet: but with respect to the latter his account is certainly erroneous; for it appears from more ancient writers, that Joseph Taylor was the original performer of that character.⁹

Lowin is introduced, in person, in the Induction to Marston's *Malecontent*, printed in 1604; and he and Taylor are mentioned in a copy of verses, written in the year 1632, soon after the appearance of Jonson's *Magnetick Lady*, as the two most celebrated actors of that time:

“ Let *Lowin* cease, and *Taylor* scorn to touch
“ The loathed stage, for thou hast made it such.”

Beside the parts already mentioned, this actor represented the following characters; Morose, in *The Silent Woman*;—Volpone, in *The Fox*;—Mammon, in *The Alchymist*;—Melantius, in *The Maid's Tragedy*;—Aubrey, in *The Bloody Brother*;—Bosola, in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*;—Jacomio, in *The Deserving Favourite*;—Eubulus, in Maffinger's *Picture*;—Domitian, in *The Roman Actor*;—and Belleur, in *The Wild Goose Chase*.

Though Heminge and Condell continued to have an interest in the theatre to the time of their death,

⁹ *Histor. Histrion. and Roscius Anglicanus.*

yet about the year 1623, I believe, they ceased to act; and that the management had in the next year devolved on Lowin and Taylor, is ascertained by the following note made by Sir Henry Herbert in his office-book, under the year 1633:

“ On friday the nineteenth of October,¹ 1633, I sent a warrant by a messenger of the chamber to suppress *The Tamer Tamd*, to the Kings players, for that afternoone, and it was obeyd; upon complaints of foule and offensive matters conteyned therein.

“ They acted *The Scornful Lady* instead of it, I have enterd the warrant here.

‘ These are to will and require you to forbear the actinge of your play called *The Tamer Tamd*, or *the Taminge of the Tamer*, this afternoone, or any more till you have leave from mee: and this at your perill. On friday morninge the 18 Octob. 1633.

‘ To Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lowins, or any of the King’s players at the Blackfryers.’

“ On saterday morninge followinge the booke was brought mee, and at my lord of Hollands request I returned it to the players ye monday morninge after, purgd of oaths, prophaneſs, and ribaldrye, being ye 21 of Octob. 1633.

“ Because the stoppinge of the actinge of this play for that afternoone, it being an ould play, hath rayſed some discourſe in the players, thogh no diſobedience, I have thought fitt to inferſt here ther

¹ So the MS. though afterwards Sir Henry Herbert calls it “friday the 18th.”

submission upon a former disobedience, and to declare that it concerns the Master of the Revells to bee carefull of their ould revived playes, as of their new, since they may conteyne offensive matter, which ought not to be allowed in any time.

“ The Master ought to have copies of their new playes left with him, that he may be able to shew what he hath allowed or disallowed.

“ All ould plays ought to bee brought to the Master of the Revells, and have his allowance to them for which he should have his fee, since they may be full of offensive things against church and state; y^e rather that in former time the poetts tooke greater liberty than is allowed them by mee.

“ The players ought not to study their parts till I have allowed of the booke.

‘ To Sir Henry Herbert, K.^t master of his Ma.^{ties} Revels.

‘ After our humble servise² remembered unto your good worship, Whereas not long since we acted a play called *The Spanishe Viceroy*, not being licensed under your worships hande, nor allowd of: wee doe confesse and herby acknowledge that wee have offended, and that it is in your power to punishe this offense, and are very sorry for it; and doe likewise promise herby that wee will not act any play without your hand or substituts hereafter, nor doe any thinge that may prejudice the authority of your office: So hoping that this humble sub-

² In the margin here Sir Henry Herbert has added this note: “ ’Tis entered here for a remembrance against their disorders.”

mission of ours may bee accepted, wee have ther-
unto sett our hands. This twentieth of Decemb.
1624.

Joseph Taylor.

Richard Robinson.

Elyard Swanston.

Thomas Pollard.

Robert Benfeilde.

George Burght.

John Lowen.

John Shancke.

John Rice.

Will. Rowley.

Richard Sharpe.

“ Mr. Knight,

“ In many things you have saved mee labour;
yet wher your judgment or penn fayld you, I have
made boulde to use mine. Purge ther parts, as I
have the booke. And I hope every hearer and
player will thinke that I have done God good ser-
vise, and the quality no wronge; who hath no
greater enemies than oaths, prophaneſs, and pub-
lique ribaldry, whch for the future I doe absolutely
forbid to bee presented unto mee in any playbooke,
as you will answer it at your perill. 21 Octob.
1633.”

“ This was subscribed to their play of *The Tamer
Tamd*, and directed to Knight, their book-keeper.

“ The 24 Octob. 1633, Lowins and Swanston
were sorry for their ill manners, and craved my
pardon, which I gave them in presence of Mr.
Taylor and Mr. Benfeilde.”

After the suppression of the theatres, Lowin be-
came very poor. In 1652, in conjunction with
Joseph Taylor, he published Fletcher's comedy
called *The Wild Goose Chase*, for bread; and in his
latter years he kept an inn (*The Three Pidgeons*) at
Brentford, in which town, Wright says, he died

very old.³ But that writer was mistaken with respect to the place of his death, for he died in London at the age of eighty-three, and was buried in the ground belonging to the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, March 18, 1658-9. On the 8th of the following October administration of the goods of John Lowin was granted to Martha Lowin, I suppose the actor's widow. In the Register of persons buried in the parish of Brentford, which I carefully examined, no person of this name is mentioned between the years 1650 and 1660.

SAMUEL CROSS.

This actor was probably dead before the year 1600; for Heywood, who had himself written for the stage before that time, says he had never seen him.

ALEXANDER COOKE.

From *The Platt of the Seven deadly Sins*, it appears, that this actor was on the stage before 1588, and was the stage-heroine. He acted some woman's part in Jonson's *Sejanus*, and in *The Fox*; and we may presume, performed all the principal female characters in our author's plays.

SAMUEL GILBURNE. Unknown.

ROBERT ARMIN

performed in *The Alchemist* in 1610, and was alive in 1611, some verses having been addressed to him

³ *Histor. Histrion.* p. 10.

n that year by John Davies of Hereford; from which he appears to have occasionally performed the part of the Fool or the Clown.⁴

He was author of a comedy called *The Two Maids of More-clacke*, [*Mortlake* it ought to be,] 1609. I have also a book, called *A Nest of Ninnies simply of themselves, without Compound*, by Robert Armin, published in 1608. And at Stationers' Hall was entered in the same year, "a book called *Phantasm the Italian Taylor and his Boy*, made by Mr. Armin, servant to his majesty."

Mr. Oldys, in his MS. notes on Langbaine, says, that "Armin was an apprentice at first to a goldsmith in Lombard-street." He adds, that "the means of his becoming a player is recorded in Tarleton's Jests, printed in 1611, where it appears, this 'prentice going often to a tavern in Gracechurch-street, to dun the keeper thereof, who was a debtor to his master, *Tarleton*, who of the master of that tavern was now only a lodger in it, saw some verses written by Armin on the wainscot, upon his master's said debtor, whose name was *Charles Tarleton*, and liked them so well, that he wrote others under them, prophecying, that as he was, so *Armin* should be: therefore, calls him his adopted son, to wear the Clown's suit after him. And so it fell out, for the boy was so pleased with what Tarleton had written of him, so respected his person, so frequented his plays, and so learned

⁴ "To honest, gamefome, *Robert Armine*,
"Who tickles the spleene like a harmles vermin."

"Armine, what shall I say of thee, but this,
"Thou art a *fool* and knave; both?—fie, I miss,
"And wrong thee much; fith thou indeed art neither,
"Although in *shew* thou *playest* both together."

his humour and manners, that from his private practice he came to publick playing his parts; that he was in good repute for the same at *the Globe* on the Bank-side, &c. all the former part of King James's reign."

WILLIAM OSTLER

had been one of the children of the Chapel; having acted in Jonson's *Poetaster*, together with Nat. Field, and John Underwood, in 1601, and is said to have performed women's parts. In 1610 both he and Underwood acted as men in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*. In Davies's *Scourge of Folly*, there are some verses addressed to him with this title: "To the *Roscius* of these times, William Ostler." He acted Antonio in Webster's *Dutchess of Malfy*, in 1623. I know not when he died.

NATHANIEL FIELD.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

}

Both these actors had been children of the Chapel;⁵ and probably at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres performed female parts. Field, when he became too manly to represent the characters of women, played the part of *Bussey d'Ambois* in Chapman's play of that name. From the preface prefixed to one edition of it, it appears that he was dead in 1641.

There is a good portrait of this performer in Dulwich College, in a very singular dress.

⁵ See *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601, in which they both acted.

Fleckno, in his little tract on the English Stage, speaks of him as an actor of great eminence. A person of this name was the author of two comedies, called *A Woman's a Weathercock*, and *Amends for Ladies*, and assisted Massinger in writing *The Fatal Dowry*, but he scarcely could have been the player; for the first of the comedies abovementioned was printed in 1612, at which time this actor must have been yet a youth, having performed as one of the Children of the Revels, in Jonson's *Silent Woman*, in 1609.

The only intelligence I have obtained of John Underwood, beside what I have already mentioned, is, that he performed the part of Delio in *The Dutchess of Malfy*, and that he died either in the latter end of the year 1624 or the beginning of the following year, having first made his will, of which the following is a copy :

“ In the name of God, Amen. I John Underwood, of the parish of Saint Bartholomew the Less, in London, gent. being very weak and sick in body, but, thanks be given to Almighty God, in perfect mind and memory, do make and declare my last will and testament, in manner and form following : viz. First, I commend and commit my soul to Almighty God, and my body to the earth, to be buried at the discretion of my executors; and my worldly goods and estate which it hath pleased the Almighty God to bless me with, I will, bequeath, and dispose as followeth; that is to say, to and amongst my five children, namely, John Underwood, Elizabeth Underwood, Burbage Underwood, Thomas Underwood, and Isabell Underwood, (my debts and other legacies herein named paid, and my funeral and other

just dues and duties discharged) all and singular my goods, household stuff, plate and other things whatsoever in or about my now dwelling house, or elsewhere; and also all the right, title, or interest, part or share, that I have and enjoy at this present by lease or otherwise, or ought to have, possess and enjoy in any manner or kind at this present or hereafter, within the Blackfryars, London, or in the company of his M^{ties} servants, my loving and kind fellows, in their house there, or at the Globe on the Bankside; and also that my part and share or due in or out of the playhouse called the Curtaine, situate in or near Holloway in the parish of St. Leonard, London, or in any other place; to my said five children, equally and proportionably to be divided amongst them at their several ages of one and twenty years; and during their and every of their minorities, for and towards their education, maintenance, and placing in the world, according to the discretion, direction, and care which I repose in my executors. Provided always and my true intent and meaning is, that my said executors shall not alienate, change or alter by sale or otherwise, directly or indirectly, any my part or share which I now have or ought to hold, have, possess, and enjoy in the said playhouses called the Blackfryars, the Globe on the Bancke-side, and Curtaine aforementioned, or any of them, but that the increase and benefit out and from the same and every of them shall come, accrue and arise to my said executors, as now it is to me, to the use of my said children, equally to be divided amongst them. Provided also that if the use and increase of my said estate given (as aforesaid) to my said children, shall prove insufficient or defective, in respect of the young years

of my children, for their education and placing of them as my said executors shall think meet, then my will and true meaning is, that when the eldest of my said children shall attain to the age of one and twenty years, my said executors shall pay or cause to be paid unto him or her so surviving or attaining, his or her equal share of my estate so remaining undisbursed or undisposed for the uses aforeaid in their or either of their hands, and so for every or any of my said children attaining to the age aforeaid : yet if it shall appear or seem fit at the completion of my said children every or any of them at their said full age or ages, which shall first happen, my estate remaining not to be equally shared or disposed amongst the rest surviving in minority, then my will is, that it shall be left to my executors to give unto my child so attaining the age as they shall judge will be equal to the rest surviving and accomplishing the aforeaid age ; and if any of them shall die or depart this life before they accomplish the said age or ages, I will and bequeath their part, share or portion to them, him or her surviving, at the ages aforeaid, equally to be divided by my executors as aforeaid. And I do hereby nominate and appoint my loving friends (in whom I repose my trust for performance of the premises) Henry Cundell, Thomas Sanford, and Thomas Smith, gentlemen, my executors of this my last will and testament ; and do intreat my loving friends, Mr. John Heminge, and John Lowyn, my fellowes, overseers of the same my last will and testament : and I give to my said executors and overseers for their pains (which I entreat them to accept) the sum of eleven shillings apiece to buy them rings, to wear in remembrance of me. In

witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred twenty four.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

A Codicil to be annexed to the last will and testament of John Underwood, late of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, London, deceased, made the tenth day of the month of October, Anno Domini one thousand six hundred twenty four or thereabouts, viz. his intent and meaning was, and so he did will, dispose, and bequeath (if his estate would thereunto extend, and it should seem convenient to his executors,) these particulars following in manner and form following: *scilt.* to his daughter Elizabeth two seal rings of gold, one with a death's head, the other with a red stone in it. To his son John Underwood a seal ring of gold with an A and a B in it. To Burbage Underwood a seal ring with a blue stone in it. To Isabell one hoop ring of gold. To his said son John one hoop ring of gold. To his said daughter Elizabeth one wedding ring. To his said son Burbage one hoop ring, black and gold. To his said son Thomas one hoop ring of gold, and one gold ring with a knot. To his said daughter Isabell one blue sapphire and one joint ring of gold. To John Underwood one half dozen of silver spoons and one gilt spoon. To Elizabeth one silver spoon and three gilt spoons. To Burbage Underwood, his son aforementioned, one great gilt spoon, one plain bowl and one rough bowl. To Thomas Underwood his son, one silver porringer, one silver taster, and one gilt spoon. To Isabell

his said daughter, three silver spoons, two gilt spoons, and one gilt cup. Which was so had and done before sufficient and credible witnesses, the said testator being of perfect mind and memory.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum una cum codicillo eidem annex. apud London, coram iudice, primo die mensis Februarii, Anno Domini 1624, juramento Henrici Cundell, unius executor. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat, reservata potestate similem commissionem faciendi Thome Sandford et Thome Smith, executoribus etiam in hujusmodi testamento nominat. cum venerint eam petitur.

NICHOLAS TOOLEY

acted Forobosco in *The Dutchess of Malfy*. From the *Platt of the Seven deadly Sinns*, it appears, that he sometimes represented female characters. He performed in *The Alchemist* in 1610.

WILLIAM ECCLESTONE.

This performer's name occurs for the first time in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*, 1610. No other ancient piece (that I have seen) contains any memorial of this actor.

JOSEPH TAYLOR

appears from some verses already cited, to have been a celebrated actor. According to Downes the prompter, he was instructed by Shakspeare to play

Hamlet; and Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, says, "He performed that part incomparably well." From the remembrance of his performance of Hamlet, Sir William D'Avenant is said to have conveyed his instructions to Mr. Betterton. Taylor likewise played Iago. He also performed Truewit in *The Silent Woman*, Face in *The Alchemist*,⁶ and Mosca in *Volpone*; but not originally.⁷ He represented Ferdinand in *The Dutchess of Malfy*, after the death of Burbadge. He acted Mathias in *The Picture*, by Maffinger; Paris in *The Roman Actor*; the Duke in Carrell's *Deserving Favourite*; Rollo in *The Bloody Brother*; and Mirabel in *The Wild Goose Chase*. There are verses by this performer prefixed to Maffinger's *Roman Actor*, 1629.

In the year 1614, Taylor appears to have been at the head of a distinct company of comedians, who were distinguished by the name of *The Lady Elizabeth's Servants*.⁸ However, he afterwards returned to his old friends; and after the death of Burbadge, Heminge and Condell, he in conjunction with John Lowin and Eliard Swanston had the principal management of the king's company. In Sept. 1639, he was appointed Yeoman of the Revels in ordinary to his Majesty, in the room of Mr. William Hunt. There were certain perquisites annexed to this office, and a salary of sixpence a day. When he was in attendance on the king he had 3l. 6s. 8d. *per month*.

I find from Fleckno's *Characters*, that Taylor

⁶ *Hist. Histrion.*

⁷ Taylor's name does not occur in the list of actors printed by Jonson at the end of *Volpone*.

⁸ MS. Vertue.

died either in the year 1653, or in the following year:⁹ and according to Wright he was buried at Richmond. The Register of that parish antecedent to the Restoration being lost, I am unable to ascertain that fact. He was probably near seventy years of age at the time of his death.

He is said by some to have painted the only original picture of Shakspeare now extant, in the possession of the Duke of Chandos. By others, with more probability, Richard Burbadge is reported to have been the painter: for among the pictures in Dulwich College is one, which, in the catalogue made in the time of Charles the Second by Cartwright the player, is said to have been painted by Burbadge.

ROBERT BENFIELD

appears to have been a second-rate actor. He performed Antonio in *The Dutchess of Malfy*, after the death of Ostler. He also acted the part of the King in *The Deserving Favourite*; Ladislaus in *The Picture*; Junius Rusticus in *The Roman Actor*; and De-gard in *The Wild Goose Chase*.

He was alive in 1647, being one of the players who signed the dedication to the folio edition of Fletcher's plays, published in that year.

⁹ "He is one, who now the stage is down, acts the parasite's part at table; and, since *Taylor's death*, none can play *Mosca* so well as he." *Character of one who imitates the good Companion another Way*. In the edition of Fleckno's Characters, printed in 1665, he says, "*this character was written in 1654.*" Taylor was alive in 1652, having published *The Wild Goose Chase* in that year.

ROBERT GOUGHE.

This actor at an early period performed female characters, and was, I suppose, the father of *Alexander Goughe*, who in this particular followed Robert's steps. In *The Seven deadly Sins*, Robert Goughe played Aspatia; but in the year 1611 he had arrived at an age which entitled him to represent male characters; for in *The Second Maiden's Tragedie*,¹ which was produced in that year, he performed the part of the usurping tyrant.

RICHARD ROBINSON

is said by Wright to have been a comedian. He acted in Jonson's *Catiline* in 1611; and, it should seem from a passage in *The Devil is an Ass*, [Act II. sc. viii.] 1616, that at that time he usually represented female characters. In *The Second Maiden's Tragedie*, he represented the *Lady of Govianus*. I have not learned what parts in our author's plays were performed by this actor. In *The Deserving Favourite*, 1629, he played Orfinio; and in *The Wild Goose Chase*, Le-Castre. In Massinger's *Roman Actor*, he performed Æsopus; and in *The Dutchess of Malfy*, after the retirement of Condell, he played the Cardinal. Hart, the celebrated actor, was originally his boy or apprentice. Robinson was alive in 1647, his name being signed, with several others, to the dedication prefixed to the first folio edition of Fletcher's plays. In the civil wars

¹ MS. in the collection of the Marquis of Lansdown. See p. 89, n. 8.

he served in the king's army, and was killed in an engagement, by Harrison, who was afterwards hanged at Charing Cross. Harrison refused him quarter, after he had laid down his arms, and shot him in the head, saying at the same time, "Curfed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently."²

JOHN SHANCKE

was, according to Wright, a comedian. He was but in a low class, having performed the part of the Curate in Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, and that of Hillario (a servant) in *The Wild Goose Chase*. He was a dramatick author, as well as an actor, having produced a comedy entitled *Shanke's Ordinary*, which was acted at Blackfriars in the year 1623-4.³

JOHN RICE.

The only information I have met with concerning this player, is, that he represented the Marquis of Pescara, an inconsiderable part in Webster's *Dutchess of Malfy*. He was perhaps brother to Stephen Rice, clerk, who is mentioned in the will of John Heminge.

The foregoing list is said in the first folio to contain the names of the *principal* actors in these plays.

Beside these, we know that *John Wilson* played an insignificant part in *Much Ado about Nothing*.

Gabriel was likewise an inferior actor in these

² *Hist. Histrion.* p. 8.

³ "For the kings company. *Shankes Ordinarie*, written by Shankes himselfe, this 16 March, 1623,—£.1. 0. 0." MS. Herbert.

plays, as appears from *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* p. 150, edit. 1623, where we find "Enter Gabriel." In the corresponding place in the old play entitled *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, &c.* we have—"Enter a Messenger." Sinkler or Sinclo, and Humphrey,⁴ were likewise players in the same theatre, and of the same class. William Barksted,⁵ John Duke, and Christopher Beeston,⁶ also belonged to this company. The latter from the year 1624 to 1638, when he died, was manager of the Cockpit theatre in Drury Lane.

In a book of the last age of no great authority, we are told that "the infamous *Hugh Peters*, after he had been expelled from the University of Cambridge, went to London, and enrolled himself as a player in Shakspeare's company, in which he usually performed the part of the Clown." Hugh Peter (for that was his name, not *Peters*, as he was vulgarly called by his contemporaries,) was born at Fowey or Foye in Cornwall in 1599, and was entered of Trinity College, in Cambridge, in the year 1613. In 1617 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Master of Arts in 1622. On the 23d of December 1621, as I find from the Registry of the Bishop of London, he was ordained a deacon, by Dr. Mountaine then bishop of that see; and on June 8, 1623, he was ordained a priest. During his residence at Trinity

⁴ In *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* p. 158, first folio, the following stage-direction is found: "Enter Sinklo and Humphrey." In the old play in quarto, entitled *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, "Enter two Keepers."

⁵ He was one of the children of the Revels. See the *Dramatis Personæ* of Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*.

⁶ *Dramatis Personæ* of *Every Man in his Humour*.

College he behaved so improperly, that he was once publicly whipped for his insolence and contumacy ;⁷ but I do not find that he was expelled. It is, however, not improbable that he was rusticated for a time, for some misconduct ; and perhaps in that interval, instead of retiring to his parent's house in Cornwall, his restless spirit carried him to London, and induced him to tread the stage. If this was the case, it probably happened about the time of our author's death, when Hugh Peter was about eighteen years old.

Langbaine was undoubtedly mistaken in supposing that Edward Alleyn was "an ornament to Blackfriars." Wright, who was much better acquainted with the ancient stage, says, "he never heard that Alleyn acted there:" and the list in the first folio edition of our author's plays proves decisively that he was not of his company ; for so celebrated a performer could not have been overlooked, when that list was forming. So early as in 1593, we find "Ned Alleyn's company mentioned."⁸ Alleyn was sole proprietor and manager of the Fortune theatre, in which he performed from 1599, (and perhaps before) till 1616, when, I believe, he quitted the stage. He was servant to the Lord Admiral (Nottingham) : all the old plays therefore which are said to have been performed by *the Lord Admiral's Servants*, were represented at the Fortune by Alleyn's company.⁹

⁷ Warton's Milton, p. 432.

⁸ P. 243, n. 2.

⁹ In a former edition I had said, on the authority of Mr. Oldys, that "Edward Alleyn, the player, mentions in his *Diary*, that he once had so slender an audience in his theatre called the *Fortune*, that the whole receipt of the house amounted to no

THE history of the stage as far as it relates to Shakspeare, naturally divides itself into three periods: the period which preceded his appearance as an actor or dramatick writer; that during which he flourished; and the time which has elapsed since his death. Having now gone through the two former of these periods, I shall take a tranfient view of the stage from the death of our great poet to the year 1741, ftill with a view to Shakspeare, and his works.

Soon after his death, four of the principal companies then fubfifting, made a union, and were

more than three pounds and fome odd fhillings." But I have fince feen Alleyn's *Diary*, (which was then miflaid,) and I find Mr. Oldys was miftaken. The memorandum on which the intelligence conveyed by the Librarian of Dulwich College to that Antiquary was founded, is as follows: "Oct. 1617, I went to the Red Bull, and rd. for *The Younger Brother* but £.3. 6. 4."

It appears from one of Lord Bacon's Letters that Alleyn had in 1618 left the ftage. "Alleyn that *was* the player," he calls him. The money therefore which he mentions to have received for the play of *The Younger Brother*, muft have been the produce of the fecond day's representation, in confequence of his having fold the property of that piece to the fharers in the Red Bull theatre, or being in fome other way entitled to a benefit from it. Alleyn's own playhoufe, the Fortune, was then open, but I imagine, he had fold off his property in it to a kinfman, one Thomas Allen, an actor likewise. In his *Diary* he frequently mentions his going from Dulwich to London after dinner, and fupping with him and fome of "*the Fortune's men*." From this MS. I expected to have learned feveral particulars relative to our ancient ftage; but unluckily the *Diary* does not commence till the year 1617, (at which time he had retired to his College, at Dulwich,) and contains no theatrical intelligence whatfoever, except the article already quoted.

afterwards called *The United Companies*; but I know not precisely in what this union consisted. I suspect it arose from a penury of actors, and that the managers contracted to permit the performers in each house occasionally to assist their brethren in the other theatres in the representation of plays. We have already seen that John Heminge in 1618 pay'd Sir George Buck, "*in the name of the four companys, for a lenten dispensation in the holydaies, 44s.;*" and Sir Henry Herbert observes that the play called *Come see a Wonder*, "written by John Daye for a company of strangers," and represented Sept. 18, 1623, was "acted at the Red Bull, and licensed without his hand to it, because they [i. e. this company of strangers] were none of the *four companys*." The old comedy entitled *Amends for Ladies*, as appears from its title-page was acted at *Blackfriars* before the year 1618, "both by the *Prince's servants and Lady Elizabeth's*," though the theatre at *Blackfriars* then belonged to the king's servants.

After the death of Shakspeare, the plays of Fletcher appear for several years to have been more admired, or at least to have been more frequently acted, than those of our poet. During the latter part of the reign of James the First, Fletcher's pieces had the advantage of novelty to recommend them. I believe, between the time of Beaumont's death in 1615 and his own in 1625, this poet produced at least twenty-five plays. Sir Aston Cokain has informed us, in his poems, that of the thirty-five pieces improperly ascribed to Beaumont and Fletcher in the folio edition of 1647, much the greater part were written after

Beaumont's death ;¹ and his account is partly confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, from which it appears that Fletcher produced eleven new plays in the last four years of his life. If we were possessed of the Register kept by Sir George Buck, we should there, I make no doubt, find near twenty dramas written by the same author in the interval between 1615 and 1622. As, to ascertain the share which each of these writers had in the works which have erroneously gone under their joint names, has long been a *desideratum* in dramattick history, I shall here set down as perfect a list as I have been able to form of the pieces produced by Fletcher in his latter years.

The Honest Man's Fortune, though it appeared first in the folio 1647, was one of the few pieces in that collection, which was the joint production of Beaumont and Fletcher. It was first performed at the Globe theatre in the year 1613, two years before the death of Beaumont.²

- ¹ “ ————— For what a foul
 “ And inexcusable fault it is, (*that whole*
 “ *Volume of plays being almost every one*
 “ *After the death of Beaumont writ,*) that none
 “ Would certifie them so much ?”

Verfes address'd by Sir Aston Cokain to Mr. Charles Cotton.

See also his verses address'd to Mr. Humphry Moseley and Mr. Humphry Robinson :

- “ In the large book of playes you late did print
 “ In Beaumont and in Fletcher's name, why in't
 “ Did you not justice ? give to each his due ?
 “ For Beaumont of those many writ in few ;
 “ And Massinger in other few ; *the main*
 “ Being sole issues of sweet Fletcher's brain.”

² A Manuscript copy of this play is now before me, marked 1613.

The Loyal Subject was the sole production of Fletcher, and was first represented in the year 1618.

It appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, that the new plays which Fletcher had brought out in the course of the year, were generally presented at court at Christmas. As therefore *The Island Princess*, *The Pilgrim*, and *The Wild Goose Chase* are found among the court exhibitions of the year 1621, we need not hesitate to ascribe these pieces also to the same poet. *The Wild Goose Chase*, though absurdly printed under the joint names of Beaumont and Fletcher, is expressly ascribed to the latter by Lowin and Taylor, the actors who published it in 1652. *The Beggar's Bush*, being also acted at court in 1622, was probably written by Fletcher. *The Tamer Tamed* is expressly called his by Sir Henry Herbert, as is *The Mad Lover* by Sir Aston Cockain: and it appears from the manuscript so often quoted that *The Night-Walker* and *Love's Pilgrimage*, having been left imperfect by Fletcher, were corrected and finished by Shirley.

I have now given an account of nine of the pieces in which Beaumont appears to have had no share; and subjoin a list of eleven other plays written by Fletcher, (with the assistance of Rowley in one only,) precisely in the order in which they were licensed by the Master of the Revels.

1622. May 14, he produced a new play called *The Prophetess*.

June 22, *The Sea Voyage*. This piece was acted at the Globe.

October 24, *The Spanish Curate*. Acted at Blackfriars.

1623. August 29, *The Maid of the Mill*, written by Fletcher and Rowley; acted at the Globe.

October 17, *The Devill of Dowgate, or Usury put to use*. Acted by the king's servants. This piece is lost.

Decemb. 6, *The Wandering Lovers*; acted at Blackfriars. This piece is also lost.

1624. May 27, *A Wife for a Month*. Acted by the King's servants.

Octob. 19, *Rule a Wife and have a Wife*.

1625-6. January 22, *The Fair Maid of the Inn*. Acted at Blackfriars.

Feb. 3, *The Noble Gentleman*. Acted at the same theatre.

In a former page an account has been given of the court-exhibitions in 1622. In Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book I find the following "Note of such playes as were acted at court in 1623 and 1624," which confirms what I have suggested, that the plays of Shakspeare were not then so much admired as those of the poets of the day.

"Upon Michelmas night att Hampton court, *The Mayd of the Mill* by the K. Company.

"Upon Allhollows night at St. James, the prince being there only, *The Mayd of the Mill* againe, with reformatiōns.

"Upon the fifth of November att Whitehall, the prince being there only, *The Gipsye*, by the Cockpitt company.

"Upon St. Stevens daye, the king and prince being there, *The Mayd of the Mill* by the K. company. Att Whitehall.

"Upon St. John's night, the prince only being

there, *The Bondman* by the queene [of Bohemia's] company. Att Whitehall.

“ Upon Innocents night, falling out upon a Sondag, *The Buck is a thief*, the king and prince being there. By the king's company. At Whitehall.

“ Upon New-years night, by the K. company, *The Wandering Lovers*, the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

“ Upon the Sondag after, beinge the 4 of January 1623, by the Queene of Bohemias company, *The Changelinge*; the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

“ Upon Twelfe Night, the maske being put off, *More dissemblers besides Women*,³ by the king's company, the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

“ To the Duchefs of Richmond, in the kings absence, was given *The Winter's Tale*, by the K. company, the 18 Janu. 1623. Att Whitehall.

“ Upon All-hollows night, 1624, the king beinge at Roifton, no play.

“ The night after, my Lord Chamberlin had *Rule a wife and have a wife* for the ladys, by the kings company.

“ Upon St. Steevens night, the prince only being there, [was acted] *Rule a wife and have a wife*, by the kings company. Att Whitehall.

“ Upon St. John's night, [the prince] and the duke of Brunfwick being there, *The Fox*, by the ———. At Whitehall.

“ Upon Innocents night, the [prince] and the duke of Brunfwyck being there, *Cupids Revenge*,

³ “ The worst play that ere I saw,” says the writer in a marginal note.

by the Queen of Bohemia's Servants. Att Whitehall, 1624.

“ Upon New-years night, the prince only being there, The first part of *Sir John Falstaff*, by the king's company. Att Whitehall, 1624.

“ Upon Twelve night, the Masque being putt of, and the prince only there, *Tu Quoque*, by the Queene of Bohemias servants. Att Whitehall, 1624.

“ Upon the Sondag night following, being the ninthe of January, 1624, the Masque was performed.

“ On Candlemas night the 2 February, no play, the king being att Newmarket.”

From the time when Sir Henry Herbert came into the office of the Revels to 1642, when the theatres were shut up, his Manuscript does not furnish us with a regular account of the plays exhibited at court every year. Such, however, as he has given, I shall now subjoin, together with a few anecdotes which he has preserved, relative to some of the works of our poet and the dramattick writers who immediately succeeded him.

“ For the king's players. An olde playe called *Winter's Tale*, formerly allowed of by Sir George Bucke, and likewyse by mee on Mr. Hemmings his worde that there was nothing profane added or reformed, thogh the allowed booke was missinge; and therefore I returned it without a fee, this 19 of August, 1623.

“ For the king's company. *The Historye of Henry the First*,⁴ written by Dampont [Davenport]; this 10 April, 1624,—£.1. 0. 0.

“ For the king’s company. An olde play called *The Honest Mans Fortune*, the originall being lost, was re-allowed by mee at Mr. Taylor’s intreaty, and on condition to give mee a booke [*The Arcadia*], this 8 Februa. 1624.”

The manuscript copy of *The Honest Man’s Fortune* is now before me, and is dated 1613. It was therefore probably the joint production of Beaumont and Fletcher. This piece was acted at the Globe, and the copy which had been licensed by Sir George Buc, was without doubt destroyed by the fire which consumed that theatre in the year 1613. The allowed copy of *The Winter’s Tale* was probably destroyed at the same time.

“ 17 July, 1626. [Received] from Mr. Hemmings for a courtesie done him about their Blackfriars hous,—£.3. 0. 0.

“ [Received] from Mr. Hemming, in their company’s name, to forbid the playing of Shakespeare’s plays, to the Red Bull Company, this 11 of Aprill, 1627,—£.5. 0. 0.

“ This day being the 11 of Janu. 1630, I did refuse to allow of a play of Messinger’s,⁵ because

⁴ This play in a late entry on the Stationers’ books was ascribed by a fraudulent bookseller to Shakspeare.

⁵ Massinger’s *Duke of Millaine* and *Virgin Martyr* were printed in 1623. It appears from the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, that his other plays were produced in the following order :

The Bondman, Dec. 3, 1623. Acted at the Cockpit in Drury Lane.

The Renegado, or the Gentleman of Venice, April 17, 1624. Acted at the Cockpit.

The Parliament of Love, Nov. 3, 1624. Acted at the Cockpit. Of this play the last four Acts are yet extant in manuscript.

itt did contain dangerous matter, as the deposing of Sebastian king of Portugal, by Philip the [Se-

The Spanish Viceroy, acted in 1624. This play is lost.

The Roman Actor, October 11, 1626. Acted by the king's company.

The Judge, June 6, 1627. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Great Duke was licensed for the Queen's Servants, July 5, 1627. This was, I apprehend, *The Great Duke of Florence*, which was acted by that company.

The Honour of Women was licensed May 6, 1628. I suspect that this was the original name of *The Maid of Honour*, which was printed in 1631, though not entered for the stage in Sir Henry Herbert's book.

The Picture, June 8, 1629. Acted by the king's company.

Minerva's Sacrifice, Nov. 3, 1629. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Emperor of the East, March 11, 1630-31. Acted by the king's company.

Believe as you list, May 7, 1631. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Unfortunate Piety, June 13, 1631. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Fatal Dowry does not appear to have been licensed for the stage under that title, but was printed in 1632. It was acted by the king's company.

The City Madam, May 25, 1632, acted by the king's company.

A new Way to pay old Debts does not appear to have been licensed for the stage, but was printed in Nov. 1632.

The Guardian was licensed Octob. 31, 1633. Acted by the king's company.

The Tragedy of Cleander, May 7, 1634. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

A Very Woman, June 6, 1634. Acted by the king's company.

The Orator, Jan. 10, 1634-5. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Bashful Lover, May 9, 1636. Acted by the king's company.

The King and the Subject, June 5, 1638. Acted by the same company. This title, Sir Henry Herbert says, was changed. I suspect it was new named *The Tyrant*. The play is lost.

cond,] and ther being a peace fworen twixte the kings of England and Spayne. I had my fee notwithstandinge, which belongs to me for reading itt over, and ought to be brought always with the booke.

“Received of Knight,⁶ for allowing of Ben Johnsons play called *Humours reconcil'd, or the Magneticke Lady*, to bee acted, this 12th of Octob. 1632, £.2. 0. 0.

“18 Nov. 1632. In the play of *The Ball*, written by Sherley,⁷ and acted by the Queens players,

Alexius, or the Chaste Lover, Sept. 25, 1639. Acted by the king's company.

The Fair Anchorefs of Pausilippe, Jan: 26, 1639-40. Acted by the king's company.

Several other pieces by this author were formerly in possession of John Warburton, Esq. Somerfet Herald, but I know not when they were written. Their titles are, *Antonio and Vallia*, *The Woman's Plot*, *Philenzo and Hippolita*, *Taste and Welcome*.

⁶ The book-keeper of Blackfriars' playhouse. The date of this piece of Ben Jonson has hitherto been unascertained. Immediately after this entry is another, which accounts for the defect of several leaves in the edition of Lord Brooke's Poems, 1633: “Received from Henry Seyle for allowinge a booke of verses of my lord Brooks, entitled *Religion; Humane Learning, Warr, and Honor*, this 17 of October 1632, in mony, £.1. 0. 0: in books to the value of £.1. 4. 0.”—In all the published copies twenty leaves on the subject of Religion, are wanting, having been cancelled, probably, by the order of Archbishop Laud.

The subsequent entry ascertains the date of Cowley's earliest production:

“More of Seyle, for allowinge of two other small peeces of verses for the press, done by a boy of this town called COWLEY, at the same time, £.0. 10. 0.”

⁷ Such of the plays of Shirley as were registered by Sir Henry Herbert, were licensed in the following order:

Love Tricks, with Complements, Feb. 10, 1624-5.

Mayds Revenge, Feb 9, 1625-6.

The Brothers, Nov. 4, 1626.

ther were divers perfonated fo naturally, both of lords and others of the court, that I took it ill, and would have forbidden the play, but that Bifton [Christopher Beefton] promifte many things which I found faulte withall fhould be left out, and that he would not fuffer it to be done by the poett any more, who deserves to be punisht; and the first that offends in this kind, of poets or players, fhall be fure of publique punishment.

“ R. for allowinge of *The Tale of the Tubb*, Vitru Hoop's parte wholly ftrucke out, and the motion of the tubb, by commande from my lord chamberlin; exceptions being taken againft it by Inigo Jones, furveyor of the kings workes, as a perfonal injury unto him. May 7, 1633,—£.2. 0. 0.”

The Witty fair One, Octob. 3, 1628.

The faithful Servant, Nov. 3, 1629.

The Traytor, May 4, 1631.

The Duke, May 17, 1631.

Loves Cruelty, Nov. 14, 1631.

The Changes, Jan. 10, 1631-2.

Hyde Park, April 20, 1632.

The Ball, Nov. 16, 1632.

The Bewties, Jan. 21, 1632-3.

The Young Admiral, July 3, 1633.

The Gamester, Nov. 11, 1633.

The Example, June 24, 1634.

The Opportunity, Nov. 29, 1634.

The Coronation, Feb. 6, 1634-5.

Chabot, Admiral of France, April 29, 1635.

The Lady of Pleasure, Octob. 15, 1635.

The Dukes Mistrefs, Jan. 18, 1635-6.

The Royal Master, April 23, 1638.

The Gentleman of Venise, 30 Octob. 1639.

Rosania, 1 June, 1640.

The Impostor, Nov. 10, 1640.

The Politique Father, May 26, 1641.

The Cardinall, Nov. 25, 1641.

The Sisters, April 26, 1642.

In this piece, of which the precise date was hitherto unknown, *Vitru Hoop*, i. e. *Vitruvius Hoop*, undoubtedly was intended to represent Inigo Jones.

“ The comedy called *The Yonge Admirall*, being free from oaths, prophaneſs, or obſceanes, hath given mee much delight and ſatisfaction in the readinge, and may ſerve for a patterne to other poetts, not only for the bettring of maners and language; but for the improvement of the quality, which hath received ſome bruſhings of late.

“ When Mr. Sherley hath read this approbation, I know it will encourage him to purſue this beneficial and cleanly way of poetry, and when other poetts heare and ſee his good ſucceſs, I am confident they will imitate the original for their own credit, and make ſuch copies in this harmleſs way, as ſhall ſpeak them maſters in their art, at the firſt ſight, to all judicious ſpectators. It may be acted this 3 July, 1633.

“ I have entered this allowance, for direction to my ſucceſſor, and for example to all poetts, that ſhall write after the date hereof.

“ Received of Biſton, for an ould play called *Hymens Holliday*, newly revived at their houſe, being a play given unto him for my uſe, this 15 Aug. 1633, £.3. 0. 0. Received of him for ſome alterations in it, £.1. 0. 0.

“ Meetinge with him at the ould exchange, he gave my wife a payre of gloves, that coſt him at leaſt twenty ſhillings.

“ Upon a ſecond petition of the players to the High Commiſſion court, wherein they did mee right in my care to purge their plays of all offence, my lords Grace of Canterbury beſtowed many words upon mee, and diſcharged mee of any blame,

and layd the whole fault of their play called *The Magnetick Lady*, upon the players. This happened the 24 of Octob. 1633, at Lambeth. In their first petition they would have excused themselves on mee and the poett."

" On Saterday the 17th of Novemb.⁸ being the Queens birth day, *Richarde the Thirde* was acted by the K. players at St. James, wher the king and queene were present, it being the first play the queene sawe since her M.^{tys} delivery of the Duke of York. 1633.

" On tuesday the 19th of November, being the king's birth-day, *The Yong Admirall* was acted at St. James by the queen's players, and likt by the K. and Queen.

" The Kings players sent me an ould booke of Fletchers called *The Loyal Subject*, formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke, 16 Novemb. 1618, which according to their desire and agreement I did peruse, and with some reformatiōs allowed of, the 23 of Nov. 1633, for which they sent mee according to their promise £.1. 0. 0.⁹

" On tuesday night at Saint James, the 26 of Novemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queene, *The Taminge of the Shrew*. Likte.

" On thursday night at St. James, the 28 of Novemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queene, *The Tamer Tamd*, made by Fletcher. Very well likte.

" On tuesday night at Whitehall the 10 of Decemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queen,

⁸ This is a mistake. It should be the 16th of November. She was born Nov. 16, 1609.

⁹ In the margin the writer adds—" The first ould play sent mee to be perused by the K. players."

The Loyal Subject, made by Fletcher, and very well likt by the king.

“ On Monday night the 16 of December, 1633, at Whitehall was acted before the King and Queen, *Hymens Holliday or Cupids Fegarys*, an ould play of Rowleys. Likte.

“ On Wensday night the first of January, 1633, *Cymbeline* was acted at Court by the Kings players. Well likte by the kinge.

“ On Monday night the fixth of January and the Twelſe Night was presented at Denmark-house, before the King and Queene, Fletchers paſtorall called *The Faithfull Shepheardesse*, in the clothes the Queene had given Taylor the year before of her owne paſtorall.

“ The ſcenes were fitted to the paſtorall, and made, by Mr. Inigo Jones, in the great chamber, 1633.

“ This morning being the 9th of January, 1633, the kinge was pleaſd to call mee into his withdrawinge chamber to the windowe, wher he went over all that I had croſte in Davenants play-booke, and allowing of *faith* and *ſlight* to bee aſſeverations only, and no oathes, markt them to ſtande, and ſome other few things, but in the greater part allowed of my reſormations. This was done upon a complaint of Mr. Endymion Porters in December.

“ The kinge is pleaſd to take *faith*, *death*, *ſlight*, for aſſeverations, and no oaths,¹ to which I doe

¹ In a ſmall tract of the laſt age, of which I have forgot the title, we are told that Charles the Second, being reprimanded by one of his biſhops for frequently introducing profane oaths in his diſcourſe, defended himſelf by ſaying, “ Your martyr ſwore twice more than I do.”

humbly submit as my masters judgment ; but under favour conceive them to be oaths, and enter them here, to declare my opinion and submission.

“ The 10 of January, 1633, I returned unto Mr. Davenant his playe-booke of *The Witts*, corrected by the kinge.

“ The kinge would not take the booke at Mr. Porters hands ; but commanded him to bring it unto mee, which he did, and likewise commanded Davenant to come to me for it, as I believe ; otherwise he would not have byn so civill.

“ *The Guardian*, a play of Mr. Messengers, was acted at court on Sunday the 12 January, 1633, by the Kings players, and well likte.

“ *The Tale of the Tub* was acted on tuesday night at Court, the 14 Janua. 1633, by the Queenes players, and not likte.

“ *The Winters Tale* was acted on thursday night at Court, the 16 Janu. 1633, by the K. players, and likt.

“ *The Witts* was acted on tuesday night the 28 January, 1633, at Court, before the Kinge and Queene. Well likt. It had a various fate on the stage, and at court, though the kinge commended the language, but dislikte the plott and characters.

“ *The Night-walkers* was acted on thursday night the 30 Janu. 1633, at Court, before the King and Queen. Likte as a merry play. Made by Fletcher.²

“ The Inns of court gentlemen presented their masque at court, before the kinge and queene, the 2 February, 1633, and performed it very well. Their shew through the streets was glorious, and

² In a former page the following entry is found :

“ For a play of Fletchers corrected by Sherley, called *The Night Walkers*, the 11 May, 1633, £.2. 0. 0. For the queen's players.”

in the nature of a triumph.—Mr. Surveyor Jones invented and made the scene; Mr. Sherley the poett made the prose and verse.

“ On thursday night the 6 of Febru. 1633, *The Gamester* was acted at Court, made by Sherley, out of a plot of the king's, given him by mee; and well likte. The king sayd it was the best play he had seen for seven years.

“ On Shrovetusday night, the 18 of February, 1633, the Kinge dancte his Masque, accompanied with 11 lords, and attended with 10 pages. It was the noblest masque of my time to this day, the best poetrye, best scenes, and the best habitts. The kinge and queene were very well pleasd with my service, and the Q. was pleasd to tell mee before the king, ‘ Pour les habits, elle n’avoit jamais rien veu de si brave.’

“ *Bussy d’Amboise* was playd by the king's players on Easter-monday night, at the Cockpitt in court.

“ *The Pastorall* was playd by the king's players on Easter-tusday night, at the Cockpitt in court.

“ I committed Cromes, a broker in Longe Lane, the 16 of Febru. 1634, to the Marshalsey, for lending a church-robe with the name of JESUS upon it, to the players in Salisbury Court, to present a Flamen, a priest of the heathens. Upon his petition of submiffion, and acknowledgment of his faulte, I releasd him, the 17 Febr. 1634.

“ The Second part of *Arviragus and Philicia* playd at court the 16 Febr. 1635, with great approbation of K. and Queene.

“ *The Silent Woman* playd at Court of St. James on thursday y^e 18 Febr. 1635.

“ On Wensday the 23 of Febr. 1635, the Prince d’Amours gave a masque to the Prince Elector and his brother, in the Middle Temple, wher the

Queene was pleasd to grace the entertaynment by putting of majesty to putt on a citizens habitt, and to sett upon the scaffold on the right hande amongst her subjects.

“ The queene was attended in the like habitts by the Marques Hamilton, the Countess of Denbighe, the Countess of Holland, and the Lady Elizabeth Feildinge. Mrs. Basse, the law-woman,³ leade in this royal citizen and her company.

“ The Earle of Holland, the Lord Goringe, Mr. Percy, and Mr. Jermyn, were the men that attended.

“ The Prince Elector satt in the midst, his brother Robert on the right hand of him, and the Prince d'Amours on the left.

“ The Masque was very well performed in the dances, scenes, cloathing, and musique, and the Queene was pleasd to tell mee at her going away, that she liked it very well.

“ Henry Laufe }
“ William Laufe } made the musique.

“ Mr. Corseilles made the scenes.

“ *Loves Aftergame*,⁴ played at St. James by the Salisbury Court players, the 24 of Feb. 1635.

“ *The Dukes Mistres* played at St. James the 22 of Feb. 1635. Made by Sherley.

“ The same day at Whitehall I acquainted king Charles, my master, with the danger of Mr. Hunts sickness, and moved his Majesty, in case he dyed, that he would be pleasd to give mee leave to

³ i. e. the woman who had the care of the hall belonging to the Middle Temple.

⁴ *The Proxy, or Love's Aftergame*, was produced at the theatre at Salisbury Court, November 24, 1634.

commend a fitt man to succcede him in his place of Yeoman of the Revells.

“ The kinge tould me, that till then he knew not that Will Hunt held a place in the Revells. To my request he was pleasd to give mee this answer. Well, says the king, I will not dispose of it, or it shall not be disposed of, till I heare you. *Ipsissimis verbis*. Which I enter here as full of grace, and for my better remembrance, since *my master's custom affords not so many words, nor so significant*.

“ The 28 Feb. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* playd by the Q. men at St. James.

“ The first and second part of *Arviragus and Philicia* were acted at the Cockpitt, [Whitehall] before the Kinge and Queene, the Prince, and Prince Elector, the 18 and 19 Aprill, 1636, being monday and tuesday in Easter weeke.

“ At the increase of the plague to 4 within the citty and 54 in all.—This day the 12 May, 1636, I received a warrant from my lord Chamberlin for the suppreffing of playes and shews, and at the same time delivered my severall warrants to George Wilson for the four companys of players, to be served upon them.

“ At Hampton Court, 1636.

“ The first part of *Arviragus*, Monday Afternoon, 26 Decemb.

“ The second part of *Arviragus*, tuesday 27 Decemb.

“ *Love and Honour*, on New-years night, sonday.

“ *The Elder Brother*, on thursday the 5 Janua.

“ *The Kinge and no Kinge*, on tuesday y^e 10 Janua.

“ *The Royal Slave*, on thursday the 12 of Janu.

—Oxford play, written by Cartwright. The king gave him forty pounds.

“ *Rollo*, the 24 Janu.

“ *Julius Cæsar*, at St. James, the 31 Janu. 1636.

“ *Cupides Revenge*, at St. James, by Beeston's boyes, the 7 Febru.

“ *A Wife for a month*, by the K. players, at St. James, the 9 Febru.

“ *Wit without Money*, by the B. boyes at St. James, the 14 Feb.

“ *The Governor*, by the K. players, at St. James, the 17 Febru. 1636.

“ *Philaster*, by the K. players, at St. James, throv-tusday, the 21 Febru. 1636.

“ On thursday morning the 23 of February the bill of the plague made the number at forty foure, upon which decreafe the king gave the players their liberty, and they began the 24 February 1636. [1636-7.]

“ The plague encreafinge, the players laye still untill the 2 of October, when they had leave to play.

“ Mr. Beeston was commanded to make a company of boyes, and began to play at the Cockpitt with them the same day.

“ I disposed of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner, to Salisbury Court, and joynd them with the best of that company.

“ Received of Mr. Lowens for my paines about Messinger's play called *The King and the Subject*, 2 June, 1638, £.1. 0. 0.

“ The name of *The King and the Subject* is altered, and I allowed the play to bee acted, the re-formations most strictly observed, and not otherwise, the 5th of June, 1638.

“ At Greenwich the 4 of June, Mr. W. Murray, gave mee power from the king to allowe of the play, and tould me that hee would warant it.

“ Monys ? Wee’le rayse supplies what ways we please,
 “ And force you to subscribe to blanks, in which
 “ We’le mulct you as wee shall thinke fitt. The Cæsars
 “ In Rome were wise, acknowledging no lawes
 “ But what their fwords did ratifye, the wives
 “ And daughters of the senators bowinge to
 “ Their wills, as deities,” &c.

“ This is a peece taken out of Phillip Messingers
 play, called *The King and the Subject*, and entered
 here for ever to bee rememberd by my son and
 those that cast their eyes on it, in honour of Kinge
 Charles, my master, who, readinge over the play at
 Newmarket, set his marke upon the place with his
 owne hande, and in thes words :

‘ *This is too insolent, and to bee changed.*’

“ Note, that the poett makes it the speech of a
 king, Don Pedro king of Spayne, and spoken to
 his subjects.

“ On thursday the 9 of Aprill, 1640, my Lord
 Chamberlen bestow’d a play on the Kinge and
 Queene, call’d *Cleodora, Queene of Arragon*, made
 by my cozen Abington. It was performd by my
 lords servants out of his own family, and his
 charge in the cloathes and sceanes, which were very
 riche and curious. In the hall at Whitehall.

“ The king and queene commended the generall
 entertaynment, as very well acted, and well set
 out.

“ It was acted the second tyme in the same place
 before the king and queene.

“ At Easter 1640, the Princes company went to
 the Fortune, and the Fortune company to the Red
 Bull.

“ On Monday the 4 May, 1640, William Beeston

was taken by a messenger, and committed to the Marshalsey, by my Lord Chamberlens warrant, for playinge a playe without license. The same day the company at the Cockpitt was commanded by my Lord Chamberlens warrant to forbear playinge, for playinge when they were forbidden by mee, and for other disobedience, and laye still monday, tuesday, and wensday. On thursday at my Lord Chamberlen's entreaty I gave them their liberty, and upon their petition of submission subscribed by the players, I restored them to their liberty on thursday.

"The play I cald for, and, forbiddinge the playinge of it, keepe the booke, because it had relation to the passages of the K.s journey into the Northe, and was complaynd of by his M.^{tye} to mee, with commande to punishe the offenders.

"On Twelfe Night, 1641, the prince had a play called *The Scornful Lady*, at the Cockpitt, but the kinge and queene were not there; and it was the only play acted at courte in the whole Christmas.

"[1642. June.] Received of Mr. Kirke, for a new play which I burnt for the ribaldry and offense that was in it, £.2. 0. 0.

"Received of Mr. Kirke for another new play called *The Irishe Rebellion*, the 8 June, 1642, £.2. 0. 0.

"Here ended my allowance of plaies, for the war began in Aug. 1642."

Sir William D'Avenant, we have already seen,⁵ about sixteen months after the death of Ben Jonson, obtained from his Majesty (Dec. 13, 1638,) a

⁵ Vol. II. [Note 3, on article *Shakspeare, Ford, and Jonson*, p. 391.]

grant of an annuity of one hundred pounds *per ann.* which he enjoyed as poet laureat till his death. In the following year (March 26, 1639,) a patent passed the great seal authorizing him to erect a playhouse, which was then intended to have been built behind *The Three Kings Ordinary* in Fleetstreet: but this scheme was not carried into execution. I find from a Manuscript in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, that after the death of Christopher Beeston, Sir W. D'Avenant was appointed by the Lord Chamberlain, (June 27, 1639,) "Governor of the King and Queens company acting at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, during the lease which Mrs. Elizabeth Beeston, *alias* Hutcheson, hath or doth hold in the said house:" and I suppose he appointed her son Mr. William Beeston his deputy, for from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, he appears for a short time to have had the management of that theatre.

In the latter end of the year 1659, some months before the Restoration of K. Charles II. the theatres, which had been suppressed during the usurpation, began to revive, and several plays were performed at the Red Bull in St. John's Street, in that and the following year, before the return of the king. In June, 1660, three companies seem to have been formed; that already mentioned; one under Mr. William Beeston in Salisbury Court, and one at the Cockpit in Drury Lane under Mr. Rhodes, who had been wardrobe-keeper at the theatre in Blackfriars before the breaking out of the Civil Wars. Sir Henry Herbert, who still retained his office of Master of the Revels, endeavoured to obtain from these companies the same emoluments which he had formerly derived from the exhibition of plays; but after a long struggle, and after having brought

several actions at law against Sir William D'Avenant, Mr. Betterton, Mr. Mohun, and others, he was obliged to relinquish his claims, and his office ceased to be attended with either authority or profit. It received its death wound from a grant from King Charles II. under the privy signet, August 21, 1660, authorizing Mr. Thomas Killigrew, one of the grooms of his majesty's bedchamber, and Sir William D'Avenant, to erect two new playhouses and two new companies, of which they were to have the regulation; and prohibiting any other theatrical representation in London, Westminster, or the suburbs, but those exhibited by the said two companies.

Among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert several are preserved relative to his disputed claim, some of which I shall here insert in their order, as containing some curious and hitherto unknown particulars relative to the stage at this time, and also as illustrative of its history at a precedent period.

I.

“ For Mr. William Beeston,

“ Whereas the allowance of plays, the ordering of players and playmakers, and the permission for erecting of playhouses, hath, time out of minde whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, belonged to the Master of his Ma.^{ties} office of the Revells; And whereas Mr. William Beeston hath desired authority and lycence from mee to continue the house called Salisbury Court playhouse in a playhouse, which was formerly built and

erected into a playhouse by the permission and lycence of the Master of the Revells.

“ These are therefore by virtue of a grant under the great seal of England, and of the constant practice thereof, to continue and constitute the said house called Salisbury Court playhouse into a playhouse, and to authorize and lycence the said Mr. Beeston to sett, lett, or use it for a playhouse, wherein comedies, tragedies, tragicomedies, pastoralls, and interludes, may be acted. Provided that noe persons be admitted to act in the said playhouse but such as shall be allowed by the Master of his Ma.^{ties} office of the Revells. Given under my hand and seale of the office of the Revells, this———”

[This paper appears to be only a copy, and is not dated nor signed ; ending as above. I believe, it was written in June, 1660.]

II.

“ To the kings most excellent Majesty.

“ The humble Petition of John Rogers,

“ Most humbly sheweth,

“ That your petitioner at the beginning of the late calamitys lost thereby his whole estate, and during the warr susteyned much detriment and imprisonment, and lost his limbs or the use thereof ; who served his Excellency the now Lord General, both in England and Scotland, and performed good and faithfull service ; in consideration whereof and by being so much decreapitt as not to act any

more in the wars, his Excellency was favourably pleased, for your petitioners future subsistence without being further burthensome to this kingdom, or to your Majesty for a pension, to grant him a tolleration to erect a playhouse or to have a share out of them already tollerated, your petitioner thereby undertaking to suppress all riots, tumults, or molestations that may thereby arise. And for that the said graunt remains imperfect unless corroborated by your majesty,

“ He therefore humbly implores your most sacred Majesty, in tender compassion, out of your kingly clemency to confirm unto him a share out of the profits of the said playhouses, or such allowance by them to be given as formerly they used to allow to persons for to keep the peace of the same, that he may with his wife and family be thereby preserved and relieved in his maimed aged years; and he shall daily pray.”

“ At the Court at Whitehall, the 7th of August, 1660.

“ His Majesty is graciously pleased to refer this petition to Sir Henry Herbert, Master of his Majesties Revells, to take such Order therein, as shall be agreeable to equity, without further troubling his majesty.

“ (A true Copie.)

J. HOLLIS.”

“ August 20, 1660. From the office of the Revells.

“ In obedience to his M.^{ties} command I have taken the matter of the Petitioners request into confideration, and doe thereuppon conceive it very reasonable that the petitioner should have the same allowance weekly from you and every of you, for himselfe and his men,⁶ for guarding your playhouse from all molestations and injuries, which you formerly did or doe allow or pay to other persons for the same or such like services; and that it be duely and truely paid him without denial. And the rather for that the Kings most excellent Ma.^{tie} upon the Lord General Monks recommendation, and the confideration of the Petitioners losses and sufferings, hath thought fitt to commiserate the Petitioner John Rogers his said condition, and to refer unto me the relief of the said petitioner. Given at his Ma.^{ties} office of the Revells, under my hand and the seale of the said office, the twentieth day of August, in the twelve yeare of his Ma.^{ties} raigne.

“ To the Actors of the playhouses called the Red Bull, Cockpit, and theatre in Salisbury Court, and to every of them, in and about the citties of London and Westminster.”

⁶ It appears from another paper that his men were soldiers.

III.

“ To the kings most excellent Majestie.

“ The humble petition of Sir Henry Herbert, Knight, Master of your Majesties office of the Revels.

“ Sheweth,

“ That whereas your Petitioner by vertue of severall Grants under the great seale of England hath executed the said office, as Master of the Revells, for about 40 yeares, in the times of King James, and of King Charles, both of blessed memory, with exception only to the time of the late horrid rebellion.

“ And whereas the ordering of playes and play-makers and the permission for erecting of play-houses are peculiar branches of the said office, and in the constant practice thereof by your petitioners predeceffors in the said office and himselfe, with exception only as before excepted, and authorized by grante under the said greate seale of England; and that no person or persons have erected any play-houses, or rayfed any company of players, without licence from your petitioners said predeceffors or from your petitioner, but Sir William D'Avenant, Knight, who obtained leave of Oliver and Richard Cromwell to vent his operas, at a time when your petitioner owned not their authority.

“ And whereas your Majesty hath lately signified your pleasure by warrant to Sir Jeffery Palmer, Knight and Bar. your Majesties Attorney General, for the drawing of a grante for your Majesties signature to pass the greate seale, thereby to enable

and empower Mr. Thomas Killegrew and the said Sir William D'Avenant to erect two new play-houses in London, Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, and to make choice of two companies of players, to bee under their sole regulation, and that noe other players shall be authorized to play in London, Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, but such as the said Mr. Killegrew and Sir William D'Avenant shall allow of.

“ And whereas your petitioner hath been represented to your Ma.^{ty} as a person consenting unto the said powers exprest in the said warrant. Your petitioner utterly denies the least consent or fore-knowledge thereof, but looks upon it as an unjust surprize, and destructive to the power granted under the said greate seale to your petitioner, and to the constant practice of the said office, and exercised in the office ever since players were admitted by authority to act playes, and cannot legally be done as your petitioner is advised; and it may be of very ill consequence, as your petitioner is advised, by a new grante to take away and cut of a branch of your ancient powers, granted to the said office under the great seale.

“ Your petitioner therefore humbly praies that our Ma.^{ty} would be justly as graciously pleased to revoke the said warrant from your Ma.^{ties} said Attorney Generall, or to refer the premises to the consideration of your Ma.^{ties} said Attorney Generall, to certify your Ma.^{ty} of the truth of them, and his judgement on the whole matters in question betwixt the said Mr. Killegrew, Sir William D'Avenant, and your petitioner, in relation to the legality and consequence of their demands and your petitioners rights.

“ And your petitioner shall ever pray.”

“ At the Court at Whitehall, 4 August, 1660.

“ His Ma.^{tie} is pleased to refer this petition to Sir Jeffery Palmer, Knight and Baronet, his Ma.^{ties} Attorney Generall; who haveing called before him all persons concerned, and examined the petitioners right, is to certify what he finds to be the true state of the matters in difference, together with his opinion thereupon. And then his Ma.^{tie} will declare his further pleasure.

EDW. NICHOLAS.”

“ May it please your most excellent M.^{ty}

“ Although I have heard the parties concerned in this petition severally and apart, yet in respect Mr. Killigrew and Sir William D'Avenant, having notice of a time appointed to heare all parties together, did not come, I have forborne to proceed further; having also received an intimation, by letter from Sir William D'Avenant, that I was freed from further hearing this matter.

“ 14 Sept. 1660.

J. PALMER.”

IV.

“ From Mr. Mosely concerning the playes, &c.
August 30, 1660.⁷

“ Sir,

“ I have beene very much solicted by the gentlemen actors of the Red Bull for a note under my hand to certifie unto your worsh^p. what agreement

⁷ This is the indorsement, written by Sir Henry Herbert's own hand.

I had made with Mr. Rhodes of the Cockpitt playhouse. Truly, Sir, I am so farr from any agreement with him, that I never so much as treated with him, nor with any from him, neither did I ever consent directly or indirectly, that hee or any others should act any playes that doe belong to mee, without my knowledge and consent had and procured. And the same also I doe certify concerning the Whitefryers playhouse⁸ and players.

“ Sir, this is all I have to trouble you withall att present, and therefore I shall take the boldnesse to remaine,

Your Worsh.^s most humble Servant,

HUMPHREY MOSELY.”

“ August 30. 60.”⁹

V.

On the 21st of August, 1660, the following grant, against which Sir Henry Herbert had petitioned to be heard, passed the privy signet :

“ Charles the Second by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, defender of the fayth, &c. to all to whome these presents shall come greeting. Whereas wee are given to understand that certain persons in and about our citty of London, or the suburbs thereof, doe frequently assemble for the performing and acting of playes and enterludes for rewards, to which divers of our subjects doe for their entertainment resort ; which said playes, as we are in-

⁸ i. e. the playhouse in Salisbury Court.

⁹ The date inserted by Sir Henry Herbert.

formed, doe containe much matter of prophanation, and scurrility, soe that such kind of entertainments, which, if well managed, might serve as morall instructions in humane life, as the same are now used, doe for the most part tende to the debauchinge of the manners of such as are present at them, and are very scandalous and offensive to all pious and well disposed persons. We, takeing the premisses into our princely consideration, yett not holding it necessary totally to suppress the use of theaters, because wee are assured, that, if the evill and scandall in the playes that now are or haue bin acted were taken away, the same might serve as innocent and harmlesse diuertisement for many of our subjects; and haueing experience of the art and skill of our trusty and well beloued Thomas Killigrew, esq. one of the Groomes of our Bedchamber, and of Sir William Dauenant, knight, for the purposes hereafter mentioned, doe hereby giue and grante vnto the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Dauenant full power and authority to erect two companies of players, consistinge respectively of such persons as they shall chuse and appoint, and to purchase, builde and erect, or hire at their charge, as they shall thinke fitt, two houses or theatres, with all convenient roomes and other necessaries thereunto appertaining, for the representation of tragydies, comedyes, playes, operas, and all other entertainments of that nature, in convenient places: and likewise to settle and establish such payments to be paid by those that shall resort to see the said representations performed, as either haue bin accustomedly giuen and taken in the like kind, or as shall be reasonable in regard of the great expences of SCENES, musick, and such new decorations as haue not been formerly used; with

further power to make such allowances out of that which they shall so receive, to the actors, and other persons employed in the said representations in both houses respectively, as they shall think fitt: the said companies to be under the gouvernement and authority of them the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant. And in regard of the extraordinary licentiousness that hath been lately used in things of this nature, our pleasure is, that there shall be noe more places of representations, nor companies of actors of playes, or operas by recitative, musick, or representations by dancing and scenes, or any other entertainments on the stage, in our citties of London and Westminster, or in the liberties of them, then the two to be now erected by vertue of this authority. Nevertheless wee doe hereby by our authority royal strictly enjoin the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, that they doe not at any time hereafter cause to be acted or represented any play, enterlude, or opera, containing any matter of prophanation, scurrility or obscenity: And wee doe further hereby authorize and command them the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant to peruse all playes that haue been formerly written, and to expunge all prophaneesse and scurrility from the same, before they be represented or acted. And this our grante and authority made to the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, shall be effectuell and remaine in full force and vertue, notwithstanding any former order or direction by us given, for the suppressing of playhouses and playes, or any other entertainments of the stage. Given, &c. August 21, 1660."

VI.

The following paper is indorsed by Sir Henry Herbert :

“ Warrant sent to Rhodes, and brought backe by him the 10 of Octob. 60, with this answer—
That the Kinge did authorize him.”

“ Whereas by vertue of a grante under the great seale of England, playes, players and playmakers, and the permission for erecting of playhouses, have been allowed, ordered and permitted by the Masters of his Ma.^{ties} office of the Revells, my predeceffors succeffively, time out of minde, whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, and by mee for almost forty yeares, with exception only to the late times :

“ These are therefore in his Ma.^{ties} name to require you to attend mee concerning your playhouse called the Cockpitt playhouse in Drury Lane, and to bring with you such authority as you have for erecting of the said house into a playhouse, at your perill. Given at his Ma.^{ties} office of the Revells the 8th day of Octob. 1660.

HENRY HERBERT.”

“ To Mr. John Rhodes at the Cockpitt playhouse in Drury Lane.”

VII.

Copy of the Warrant sent to the actors at the Cockpitt in Drury Lane by Tom Browne, the 13 Octob. 60.

“ Whereas severall complaints have been made against you to the Kings most excellent Majesty by Mr. Killegrew and Sir William D’Avenant, concerning the unusuall and unreasonable rates taken at your playhouse doores, of the respective persons of quality that desire to refresh or improve themselves by the sight of your morrall entertainments which were constituted for profitt and delight. And the said complaints made use of by the said Mr. Killegrew and Sir William Davenant as part of their suggestions for their pretended power, and for your late restraints.

“ And whereas complaints have been made thereof formerly to mee, wherewith you were acquainted, as innovations and exactions not allowed by mee; and that the like complaints are now made, that you do practice the said exactions in takeing of excessive and unaccustomed rates uppon the restitution of you to your liberty.

“ These are therefore in his Ma.^{ties} name to require you and every of you to take from the persons of qualitie and others as daily frequent your playhouse, such usuall and accustomed rates only as were formerly taken at the Blackfryers by the late company of actors there, and noe more nor otherwise, for every new or old play that shall be allowed you by the Master of the Revells to be acted in the said playhouse or any other playhouse. *And you are hereby further required to bringe or sende to me all*

such old plaies as you doe intend to act at your said playhouse, that they may be reformed of prophanes and ribaldry, at your perill. Given at the office of the Revells.¹

HENRY HERBERT."

" To Mr. Michael Mohun,
and the rest of the actors
of the Cockpitt play-
house in Drury Lane.
The 13th of October,
1660."

VIII.

" To the Kings most excellent Majestie."

" The humble Petition of Michael Mohun, Robert Shatterel, Charles Hart, Nich. Burt, Wm. Cartwright, Walter Clun, and William Winterfell.

" Humbly sheweth,

" That your Majesties humble petitioners, having been supprest by a warrant from your Majestie, Sir Henry Herbert informed us it was Mr. Killegrew had caused it, and if wee would give him soe much a weeke, he would protect them against Mr. Killegrew and all powers. The complaint against us was, scandalous plays, raising the price, and acknowledging noe authority ; all which ended in soe

¹ The words in Italick characters were added by Sir Henry Herbert's own hand.

much per weeke to him ; for which wee had leave to play and promise of his protection : the which your Majesty knows he was not able to performe, since Mr. Killegrew, having your Majesties former grante, supprest us, until wee had by covenant obliged ourselves to act with WOEMEN, a new theatre, and habitts according to our SCEANES. And according to your Majesties approbation, from all the companies we made election of one company ; and so farre Sir Henry Herbert hath bene from protecting us, that he hath been a continual disturbance unto us, who were [united] by your Majesties commande under Mr. Killegrew as Master of your Majesties Comedians ; and we have annext unto our petition the date of the warrant by which wee were supprest, and for a protection against that warrant he forced from us soe much a weeke. And if your majestie be graciously pleased to cast your eye upon the date of the warrant hereto annext, your majestie shall find the date to our contract succeeded ; wherein he hath broke the covenants, and not your petitioners, haveing abused your majestie in giveing an ill character of your petitioners, only to force a sum from their poor endeavours ; who never did nor shall refuse him all the reseits and just profitts that belong to his place ; hee having now obtained leave to arrest us, only to give trouble and vexation to your petitioners, hoping by that meanes to force a summe of money illegally from us.

“ The premises considered, your petitioners humbly beseech your majestie to be graciously pleased to signify your royal pleasure to the Lord Chamberlaine, that your petitioners may not bee molested in their

calling. And your petitioners in duty bound shall pray, &c.

“ Nich. Burt.

“ Robt. Shatterel.”²

William Wintershall.

Charles Hart.”

Mr. THOMAS BETTERTON having been a great admirer of Shakspeare, and having taken the trouble in the beginning of this century, when he was above seventy years of age, of travelling to Stratford-upon-Avon to collect materials for Mr. Rowe's life of our author, is entitled to particular notice from an editor of his works. Very inaccurate accounts of this actor have been given in the *Biographia Britannica* and several other books. It is observable, that biographical writers often give the world long dissertations concerning facts and dates, when the fact contested might at once be ascertained by visiting a neighbouring parish-church : and this has been particularly the case of Mr. Betterton. He was the son of Matthew Betterton (under-cook to King Charles the First) and was baptized, as I learn from the register of St. Margaret's parish, August 11, 1635. He could not have appeared on the stage in 1656, as has been asserted, no theatre being then allowed. His first appearance was at the Cockpit, in Drury Lane, in Mr. Rhodes's company, who played there by a license in the year 1659, when Betterton was twenty-four years of age. He married Mrs. Mary

² Michael Mohun, William Cartwright, and Walter Clun did not sign.

Saunderson, an actress, who had been bred by Sir William D'Avenant, some time in the year 1663, as appears by the *Dramatis Personæ* of *The Slighted Maid*, printed in that year.³ From a paper now before me, which Sir Henry Herbert has entitled a *Breviat* of matters to be proved on the trial of an action brought by him against Mr. Betterton in 1662, I find that he continued to act at the Cockpit till November, 1660, when he and several other performers entered into articles with Sir William D'Avenant; in consequence of which they began in that month to play at the theatre in Salisbury Court, from whence after some time, I believe, they returned to the Cockpit, and afterwards removed to a new theatre in Portugal Row near Lincoln's Inn Fields. These Articles were as follows;

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT tripartite, indented, made, and agreed upon this fifth day of November, in the twelfth yeere of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord king Charles the Second, Annoque

³ This celebrated actor continued on the stage fifty years, and died intestate in April, 1710. No person appears to have administered to him. Such was his extreme modesty, that not long before his death "he confessed that he was yet learning to be an actor." His wife survived him two years. By her last will, which was made, March 10, 1711-12, and proved in the following month, she bequeathed to Mrs. Mary Head, her sister, and to two other persons, 20l. apiece, "to be paid out of the arrears of the pension which her Majesty had been graciously pleased to grant her;" to Mrs. Anne Betterton, Mr. Wilks, Mr. Dent, Mr. Dogget, and Mrs. Bracegirdle, twenty shillings each for rings, and to her residuary legatee, Mrs. Frances Williamson, the wife of ——— Williamson, "her dearly beloved husband's picture."

Mrs. Mary Head must have been Mr. Betterton's sister; for Mrs. Betterton's own name was Mary.

Domini 1660, between Sir Wm. Davenant of London, Kt. of the first part, and Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moseley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleston, of the second part; and Henry Harris, of the city of London, painter, of the third part, as followeth.

Imprimis, the said Sir William Davenant doth for himself, his executors, administrators and assigns, covenant, promise, grant, and agree, to and with the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moseley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleston, that he the said Sir William Davenant by vertue of the authority to him derived for that purpose does hereby constitute, ordeine and erect them the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moseley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleston, and their associates, to bee a company, publiquely to act all manner of tragedies, comedies, and playes whatsoever, in any theatre or playhouse erected in London or Westminster or the suburbs thereof, and to take the usual rates for the same, to the uses hereafter exprest, untill the said Sir William Davenant shall provide a newe theatre with SCENES.

Item, It is agreed by and between all the said parties to these presents, that the said company (untill the said theatre bee provided by the said Sir William Davenant) bee authorized by him to act tragedies, comedies, and playes in the playhouse called Salisbury Court playhouse, or any other house, upon the conditions only hereafter following, vizt.

That the generall receipte of money of the said

playhouse shall (after the house-rent, hirelings,⁴ and all other accustomed and necessary expences in that kind be defrayed) bee divided into fower-teene proportions or shares, whereof the said Sir William Davenant shall have foure full proportions or shares to his own use, and the rest to the use of the said companie.

That duringe the time of playing in the said playhouse, (untill the aforesaid theatre bee provided by the said Sir Wm. Davenant,) the said Sir Wm. Davenant shall depute the said Thomas Batterton, James Noakes, and Thomas Sheppey, or any one of them particularly, for him and on his behalfe, to receive his proportion of those shares, and to surveye the accompte conducinge thereunto, and to pay the said proportion every night to him the said Sir Wm. Davenant or his assignes, which they doe hereby covenant to pay accordingly.

That the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, and the rest of the said company shall admit such a consort of musiciens into the said playhouse for their necessary use, as the said Sir William shall nominate and provide, duringe their playinge in the said playhouse, not exceedinge the rate of 30s. the day, to bee defrayed out of the general expences of the house before the said fowerteene shares bee devided.

That the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, and the rest of the said companie bee authorized to play in the playhouse in Salisbury Court or elsewhere, as aforesaid, shall at one weeks warninge given by the said Sir William Davenant, his heires or assignes, dissolve and conclude their playeing at

⁴ i. e. men hired occasionally by the night: in modern language, *supernumeraries*.

the house and place aforesaid, or at any other house where they shall play, and shall remove and joyne with the said Henry Harris, and with other men and women provided or to be provided by the said Sir Wm. Davenant, to performe such tragedies, comedies, playes, and representations in that theatre to be provided by him the said Sir William as aforesaid.

Item, It is agreed by and betweene all the said parties to these presents in manner and form followinge, vizt. That when the said companie, together with the said Henry Harris, are joyned with the men and women to be provided by the said Sir William D'Avenant to act and performe in the said theatre to bee provided by the said Sir Wm. Davenant, that the generall receipte of the said theatre (the generall expence first beinge deducted) shall bee devided into fifteene shares or proportions, whereof two shares or proportions shall bee paid to the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators, or assigns, towards the house-rent, buildinge, scaffoldinge, and makeing of frames for SCENES, and one other share or proportion shall likewise bee paid to the said Sir William, his executors, administrators and assigns, for provision of habitts, properties, and SCENES, for a supplement of the said theatre.

That the other twelve shares (after all expences of men hirelinges and other customary expences deducted) shall bee devided into seaven and five shares or proportions, whereof the said Sir Wm. D'Avenant, his executors, administrators, or assigns, shall have seaven shares or proportions, to mainteine all the women that are to performe or represent womens parts in the aforesaid tragedies, comedies, playes, or representations; and in consideration of erectinge and establishinge them to bee a

companie, and his the said Sir Wms. paines and expences to that purpose for many yeeres. And the other five of the said shares or proportions is to bee devided amongst the rest of the persons [parties] to theis presents, whereof the said Henry Harris is to have an equal share with the greatest proportion in the said five shares or proportions.

That the general receipte of the said theatre (from and after such time as the said Companie have performed their playeinge in Salisbury Court, or in any other playhouse, according to and noe longer than the tyme allowed by him the said William as aforesaid) shall bee by ballatine, or tickets sealed for all doores and boxes.

That Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators or assignes, shall at the general chardge of the whole receipte provide three persons to receive money for the said tickets, in a roome adjoining to the said theatre; and that the actors in the said theatre, nowe parties to these presents, who are concerned in the said five shares or proportions, shall dayly or weekly appoint two or three of themselves, or the men hirelings deputed by them, to sit with the aforesaid three persons appointed by the said Sir William, that they may survey or give an accompt of the money received for the said tickets: That the said seaven shares shall be paid nightly by the said three persons by the said Sir Wm. deputed, or by anie of them, to him the said Sir Wm. his executors, administrators, or assignes.

That the said Sir William Davenant shall appoint half the number of the door-keepers necessary for the receipt of the said tickets for doores and boxes, the wardrobe-keeper, barber, and all other necessary persons as hee the said Sir Wm. shall think

fitt, and their fallary to bee defrayed at the publique chardge.

That when any sharer amongst the actors of the aforefaid shares, and parties to these presents shall dye, that then the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators or assignes, shall have the denomination and appointment of the successor and successors. And likewise that the wages of the men hirelings shall be appointed and established by the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators, or assignes.

That the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators, or assignes, shall not bee obliged out of the shares or proportions allowed to him for the supplyeinge of cloathes, habitts, and scenes, to provide eyther hatts, feathers, gloves, ribbons, sworde-belts, bands, stockings, or shoes, for any of the men actors aforefaid, unless it be a propertie.

That a private boxe bee provided and established for the use of Thomas Killigrew, Esq. one of the groomes of his Ma.^{ties} bedchamber, sufficient to containe fixe persons, into which the said Mr. Killigrew, and such as he shall appoint, shall have liberty to enter without any fallary or pay for their entrance into such a place of the said theatre as the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his heires, executors, administrators, or assignes shall appoint.

That the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moseley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleston, doe hereby for themselves covenant, promise, grant and agree, to and with the said Sir W. D. his executors, administrators, and assignes, by these presents, that they and every of them shall become bound to the said Sir Wm.

Davenant, in a bond of 5000*l.* conditioned for the performance of these presents. And that every successor to any part of the said five shares or proportions shall enter into the like bonds before he or they shall bee admitted to share anie part or proportion of the said shares or proportions.

And the said Henry Harris doth hereby for himself his executors, administrators, and assignes, covenant, promise, grant and agree, to and with the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators, and assignes, by these presents, that hee the said Henry Harris shall within one weeke after the notice given by Sir Wm. Davenant for the concluding of the playeing at Salisbury Court or any other house else abovesaid, become bound to the said Sir Wm. Davenant in a bond of 5000*l.* conditioned for the performance of these [presents]. And that every successor to any of the said five shares shall enter into the like bond, before hee or they shall bee admitted to have any part or proportion in the said five shares.

Item, it is mutually agreed by and betweene all the parties to these presents, that the said Sir William Davenant alone shall bee Master and Superior, and shall from time to time have the sole government of the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moseley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner and Thomas Lilleston, and also of the said Henry Harris, and their associates, in relation to the playes [play-house] by these presents agreed to bee erected.

On the 15th of Nov. 1660, Sir William D'Avenant's company began to act under these articles at

the theatre in Salisbury-court, at which house or at the Cockpit they continued to play till March or April, 1662. In October, 1660, Sir Henry Herbert had brought an action on the case against Mr. Mohun and several others of Killigrew's company, which was tried in December, 1661, for representing plays without being licensed by him, and obtained a verdict against them, as appears from a paper which I shall insert in its proper place. Encouraged by his success in that suit, soon after D'Avenant's company opened their new theatre in Portugal Row, he brought a similar action (May 6, 1662,) against Mr. Betterton, of which I know not the event.⁵ In the declaration, now before me, it is stated that D'Avenant's company, between the 15th of November 1660, and the 6th of May 1662, produced ten new plays and 100 revived plays; but the latter number being the usual style of declarations at law, may have been inserted without a strict regard to the fact.

Sir Henry Herbert likewise brought two actions on the same ground against Sir William D'Avenant, in one of which he failed, and in the other was

⁵ From a paper which Sir Henry Herbert has intitled "*A Breviat*" of matters to be proved on this trial, it appears that he was possessed of the Office-books, of his predecessors, Mr. Tilney and Sir George Buc; for, among other points of which proof was intended to be produced, he states, that "Several plays were allowed by Mr. Tilney in 1598, which is 62 years since:

" As { *Sir William Longsword*
The Fair Maid of London } Allowed to be acted in
Richard Cordelion } 1598. See the bookes.

King and no King allowed to be acted
in 1611, and the same to be printed. } Allowed by Sir
Hogg hath lost its Pearle, and hun- } George Buck."
dreds more,

successful. To put an end to the contest, Sir William in June 1662 besought the king to interfere.

“ To the Kings most Sacred Majesty.

“ The humble petition of Sir William Davenant,
Knight

“ Sheweth,

“ That your petitioner has bin molested by Sir Henry Harbert with severall prosecutions at law.

“ That those prosecutions have not proceeded by your petitioners default of not paying the said Henry Harbert his pretended fees, (he never having sent for any to your petitioner,) but because your petitioner hath publicquely presented plaies; notwithstanding he is authoriz'd thereunto by pattent from your Majesties most royall Father, and by severall warrants under your Majesties royal hand and signet.

“ That your petitioner (to prevent being outlaw'd) has bin inforc'd to answer him in two tryals at law, in one of which, at Westminster, your petitioner hath had a verdict against him, where it was declar'd that he hath no jurisdiction over any plaiers, nor any right to demand fees of them. In the other, (by a London jury,) the Master of Revels was allowed the correction of plaies, and fees for soe doing; but not to give plaiers any licence or authoritie to play, it being prov'd that no plaiers were ever authoriz'd in London or Westminster, to play by the commission of y^e Master of Revels, but by authoritie immediately from the crown. Nei-

ther was the proportion of fees then determin'd, or made certaine ; becaufe severall witneffes affirm'd that variety of payments had bin made ; sometimes of a noble, sometimes of twenty, and afterwards of forty shillings, for correcting a new play ; and that it was the custome to pay nothing for supervising reviv'd plaies.

“ That without any authoritie given him by that last verdict, he sent the day after the tryall a prohibition under his hand and seale (directed to the plaiers in Little Lincolnes Inn fields) to forbid them to act plaies any more.

“ Therefore your petitioner humbly praies that your Majesty will graciously please (two verdicts having pass'd at common law contradicting each other) to referr the case to the examination of such honourable persons as may fatisfy your Majesty of the just authoritie of the Master of Revells, that so his fees, (if any be due to him) may be made certaine, to prevent extortion ; and time prescribed how long he shall keep plaies in his hands, in pretence of correcting them ; and whether he can demand fees for reviv'd plaies ; and lastly, how long plaies may be lay'd asyde, ere he shall judge them to be reviv'd.

“ And your petitioner (as in duty bound) shall ever pray,” &c.

“ At the Court at Hampton Court, the 30th of June, 1662.

“ His Majesty, being graciously inclin'd to have a just and friendly agreement made betweene the petitioner and the said Sir Henry Harbert, is pleas'd to referr this petition to the right honorable the Lord high Chancellor of England, and the Lord Chamberlaine, who are to call before them, as well the petitioner, as the said Sir Henry Harbert, and upon hearing and examining their differences, are to make a faire and amicable accommodation between them, if it may be, or otherwise to certify his Majesty the true state of this business, together with their Lord.^{ps} opinions.

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

“ Wee appoint Wednesday morning next before tenn of the clock to heare this businesse, of which Sir Henry Harbert and the other parties concern'd are to have notice, my Lord Chamberlaine having agreed to that hour.

“ July 7, 1662. CLARENDONE.”

On the reference to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chamberlain, Sir Henry Herbert presented the following statement of his claims :

“ To the R.^t Honn.^{able} Edward Earle of Clarendon,
Lord High Chancellor of England, and Ed-
ward Earle of Manchester, Lord Chamber-
lain of his M.^{ties} Household.

“ In obedience to your lordships comandes signi-
fied unto mee on the ninth of this instant
July, do make a remembrance of the fees,
profittes, and incidents, belonging to ye office
of the Reuells. They are as followeth :

	£.	s.	d.
“ For a new play, to bee brought with the booke - - -	002	00	00
“ For an old play, to be brought with the booke - - -	001	00	00
“ For Christmasse fee - - -	003	00	00
“ For Lent fee - - -	003	00	00
“ The profittes of a summers day play at the Black fryers, valued at	050	00	00
“ The profitts of a winters day, ⁶ at Blackfryers - - -	050	00	00
“ Besides feuerall occasionall gratui- ties from the late K ^s . company at B. fryers.			

⁶ It is extraordinary, that the Master of the Revels should have ventured to state fifty pounds as the produce of each of the benefits given him by the king's company. We have seen (p. 188) that at an average they did not produce nine pounds each, and after a trial of some years he compounded with that company for the certain sum of ten pounds for his winter's day, and the like sum for his summer benefit.

£. s. d.

- “ For a share from each company of
four companyes of players (besides
the late Kinges Company) valued
at a 100l. a yeare, one yeare with
another, besides the usuall fees, by
the yeare - - - - - } 400 00 00
- “ That the Kinges Company of
players couenanted the 11th of
August, 60, to pay Sir Henry Her-
bert per week, from that tyme,
aboue the usual fees - - - } 004 00 00
- “ That Mr. William Beeston coue-
nanted to pay weekly to Sir Henry
Herbert the summe of - - - } 004 00 00
- “ That Mr. Rhodes promised the
like per weeke - - - - - } 004 00 00
- “ That the 12l. per weeke from the three fore-
named companyes hath been totally deteyned
from Sir Henry Herbert since the said 11th Aug.
60, by illegal and unjust means; and all usual
fees, and obedience due to the office of the
Revells.
- “ That Mr. Thomas Killegrew drawes 19l. 6s. per
week from the Kinges Company, as credibly
informed.
- “ That Sir William Dauenant drawes 10 shares of
15 shares, which is valued at 200l. per week,
cleer profitt, one week with another, as credibly
informed.
- “ Allowance for charges of suites at law, for that
Sir Henry Herbert is unjustly putt out of pos-

feffion and profittes, and could not obtaine an appearance gratis.

- “ Allowance for damages fusteyned in creditt and profittes for about two yeares since his Ma.^{ties} happy Restauration.
- “ Allowance for their New Theatre to bee used as a playhouse.
- “ Allowance for new and old playes acted by Sir William Dauenantes pretended company of players at Salisbury Court, the Cockpitt, and now at Portugall Rowe, from the 5th Novemb. 60. the tyme of their first conjunction with Sir William Dauenant.
- “ Allowance for the fees at Chriftmaffe and at Lent from the said tyme.
- “ A boxe for the Master of the Reuells and his company, gratis;—as accustomed.
- “ A submiffion to the authority of the Revells for the future, and that noe playes, new or old, bee acted, till they are allowed by the Master of the Reuells.
- “ That rehearfall of plays to be acted at court, be made, as hath been accustomed, before the Master of the Reuells, or allowance for them.

“ Wherefore it is humbly pray’d, that delay being the said Dauenants best plea, wh^{ch} he hath exercifed by illegal actinges for almost two yeares, he may noe longer keep Sir Henry Herbert out of poffeffion of his rightes; but that your Lordshippes would speedily affert the rights due to the Master of the Reuells, and ascertain his fees and damages,

and order obedience and payment accordingly. And in case of disobedience by the said Dauenant and his pretended company of players, that Sir Henry Herbert may bee at liberty to pursue his course at law, in confidence that he shall have the benefitt of his Ma.^{ty}s justice, as of your Lordshippes fauour and promises in satisfaction, or liberty to proceed at law. And it may bee of ill consequence that Sir Henry Herbert, dating for 45 yeares meniall service to the Royal Family, and hauing purchased Sir John Ashley's interest in the said office, and obtained of the late Kings bounty a grante under the greate seale of England for two liues, should have noe other compensation for his many yeares faithfull services, and constant adherence to his Ma.^{ty}s interest, accompanied with his great sufferinges and losses, then to bee outed of his just possession, rightes and profittes, by Sir William Dauenant, a person who exercised the office of Master of the Reuells to Oliuer the Tyrant, and wrote *the First and Second Parte of Peru*, acted at the Cockpitt, in Oliuers tyme, and soly in his fauour; wherein hee sett of the justice of Oliuers actinges, by comparison with the Spaniards, and endeavoured thereby to make Oliuers cruelties appeare mercyes, in respect of the Spanish cruelties; but the mercyes of the wicked are cruell.

“ That the said Dauenant published a poem in vindication and justification of Oliuers actions and gouernment, and an Epithalamium in praise of Olivers daughter M^s. Rich;—as credibly informed.⁷

⁷ This poem Sir William D'Avenant suppressed, for it does not appear in his works.

“ The matters of difference betweene Mr. Thomas Killegrew and Sir Henry Herbert are upon accommodation.

“ My Lordes,

“ Your Lordshippes very humble Servant,

“ July 11th 62.
Cary-house.

HENRY HERBERT.”

Another paper now before me will explain what is meant by Sir Henry Herbert's concluding words :

“ ARTICLES of agreement, indented, made and agreed upon, this fourthe day of June, in the 14 yeare of the reigne of our souveraigne lord Kinge Charles the Second, and in the yeare of our Lord 1662, betweene Sir Henry Herbert of Ribsford in the county of Worcester, knight, of the one part, and Thomas Killegrew of Couent Garden, Esq. on the other parte, as followethe :

“ *Imprimis*, It is agreed, that a firme amity be concluded for life betweene the said Sir Henry Herbert and the said Thomas Killegrew.

“ *Item*, The said Thomas Killegrew doth for himselfe couenant, promise, grant, and agree, to paye or cause to be pay'd unto Sir Henry Herbert, or to his assignes, on or before the fourthe day of August next, all monies due to the said Sir Henry Herbert from the Kinge and Queens company of players, called Mychaell Mohun, William Winterhall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, Charles Hart, and the rest of that company, for the new plaies at fortie

shillings a play, and for the old reuiued plaies at twentie shillings a play, they the said players haue acted since the eleuenthe of August, in the yeare of our Lord, 1660.

“ *Item*, The said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. doth for himselfe couenant, promise, grante, and agree, to paye or cause to be pay’d unto the said Sir Henry Herbert, or to his assignes, on or before the fourthe day of August next, such monies as are due to him for damages and losses obteyned at law ag.^t Michaell Mohun, William Wintershall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, and Charles Hart, upon an action of the case brought by the said Sir Henry Herbert in the courte of Comon Pleas ag.^t y^e said Mychael Mohun, William Wintershall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, and Charles Hart, wherupon a verdict hath been obtayned as aforesaid ag.^t them. And likewise doe promise and agree that the costes and charges of suite upon another action of the case brought by the said Sir Henry Herbert, ag.^t the said Mychael Mohun & y^e rest of y^e players aboue named, shall be also payd to the said Sir Henry Herbert or to his assignes, on or before the said fourthe day of August next.

“ *Item*, The said Thomas Killegrew doth for himselfe couenant, promise, grante, and agree, that the said Michaell Mohun and the rest of the Kinge and Queenes company of players shall, on or before the said fourthe day of August next, paye or cause to be pay’d unto the said Sir Henry Herbert, or to his assignes, the sum of fiftie pounds, as a present from them, for his damages susteyned from them and by their means.

“ *Item*, That the said Thomas Killigrew, Esq. doth couenant, promise, grante, and agree, to be aydinge and assistinge unto the said Sir Henry Herbert in the due execution of the Office of the Reuells, and neither directly nor indirectly to ayde or assiste Sir William Dauenant, Knight, or any of his pretended company of players, or any other company of players whatsoever, in the due execution of the said office as aforesaide, soe as y^e ayd soe to bee required of y^e said Thomas Killegrew extend not to y^e silencing or oppression of y^e said King and Queenes company.

“ And the said Sir Henry Herbert doth for himselfe couenant, promise, grante, and agree, not to molest y^e said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. or his heirs, in any suite at lawe or otherwise, to the prejudice of the grante made unto him by his Ma.^{tie}, or to disturbe the receiuinge of y^e profits arising by contract from the Kinge and Queens company of players to him, but to ayde and assiste the said Thomas Killegrew, in the due execution of the legall powers granted unto him by his Ma.^{tie} for the orderinge of the said company of players, and in the levyinge and receiuinge of y^e monies due to him the said Thomas Killegrew, or which shall be due to him from y^e saide company of players by any contract made or to be made between them or amongst the same ; and neither directly nor indirectly to hinder the payment of y^e said monies to be made weekly or otherwise by y^e said company of players to y^e said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. or to his assignes, but to be ayding and assistinge to the said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. and his assignes therein, if there be cause for it, and that the said Thomas Killegrew desire it of y^e said Sir Henry Herbert.

“ And the said Sir Henry Herbert doth for himselfe couenant, promise, grante, and agree, upon the performance of the matters which are herein contayned, and to be performed by the said Thomas Killegrew, accordinge to the daies of payment, and other things lymited and expressed in these articles, to deliver into the hands of y^e said Thomas Killegrew the deede of couenants, sealed and deliuered by the said Mychaell Mohun and y^e others herein named, bearing date the 11 August, 1660; to be cancelled by the said Thomas Killegrew, or kept, as he shall thinke fitt, or to make what further advantage of the same in my name or right as he shall be advised.”⁸

The actors who had performed at the Red Bull, acted under the direction of Mr. Killigrew during the years 1660, 1661, 1662, and part of the year 1663, in Gibbon's tennis-court in Vere Street, near Clare-market; during which time a new theatre was built for them in Drury Lane, to which they removed in April, 1663. The following list of their stock-plays, in which it is observable there are but three of Shakspeare, was found among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert, and was probably furnished by them soon after the Restoration.

⁸ On the back of this paper Sir Henry Herbert has written—
“ Copy of the Articles sealed and delivered the 5th June, 62, between Sir H. H. and Thomas Killegrew. Bonds of 5000l. for the performance of covenants.”

“ Names of the plays acted by the Red Bull actors.

<i>The Humorous Lieutenant.</i>	<i>Elder Brother.</i>
<i>Beggars Bushes.</i>	<i>The Silent Woman.</i>
<i>Tamer Tamed.</i>	<i>The Weddinge.</i>
<i>The Traytor.</i>	<i>Henry the Fourthe.</i>
<i>Loves Cruelty.</i>	<i>Merry Wives of Windsor.</i>
<i>Wit without Money.</i>	<i>Kinge and no Kinge.</i>
<i>Maydes Tragedy.</i>	<i>Othello.</i>
<i>Philaster.</i>	<i>Dumboys.</i>
<i>Rollo Duke of Normandy.</i>	<i>The Unfortunate Lovers.</i>
<i>Claricilla.</i>	<i>The Widow.</i>

Downes the prompter has given a list of what he calls the principal old stock plays acted by the king's servants, (which title the performers under Mr. Killegrew acquired,) between the time of the Restoration and the junction of the two companies in 1682 ; from which it appears that the only plays of Shakspeare performed by them in that period, were *K. Henry IV. P. I. The Merry Wives of Windsor, Othello, and Julius Cæsar*. Mr. Hart represented *Othello, Brutus, and Hotspur* ; Major Mohun, *Iago, and Cassius* ; and Mr. Cartwright *Falstaff*. Such was the lamentable taste of those times that the plays of Fletcher, Jonson and Shirley were much oftner exhibited than those of our author. Of this the following list furnishes a melancholy proof. It appears to have been made by Sir Henry Herbert in order to enable him to ascertain the fees due to him, whenever he should establish his claims, which however he never accomplished. Between the play

entitled *Argalus and Parthenia*, and *The Loyal Subject*, he has drawn a line; from which, and from other circumstances, I imagine that the plays which I have printed in Italicks were exhibited by the Red Bull actors, who afterwards became the king's servants.

1660. Monday the 5 Nov.	<i>Wit without Money.</i>
Tuesday the 6 Nov.	<i>The Traytor.</i>
Wensday the 7 Nov.	<i>The Beggars Bushe.</i>
Thursday the 8 Nov.	<i>Henry the Fourth.</i>
	[First play acted at the new theatre.]
Friday the 9 Nov.	<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor.</i>
Saturday the 10 Nov.	<i>The Sylent Woman.</i>
Tuesday the 13 Nov.	<i>Love lies a bleedinge.</i>
Thursday the 15 Nov.	<i>Loves Cruelty.</i>
Friday the 16 Nov.	<i>The Widow.</i>
Saterday the 17 Nov.	<i>The Mayds Tragedy.</i>
Monday the 19 Nov.	<i>The Unfortunate Lovers.</i>
Tuesday the 20 Nov.	<i>The Beggars Bushe.</i>
Wensday the 21 Nov.	<i>The Scornfull Lady.</i>
Thursday the 22 Nov.	<i>The Traytor.</i>
Friday the 23 Nov.	<i>The Elder Brother.</i>
Saterday the 24 Nov.	<i>The Chances.</i>
Monday the 26 Nov.	<i>The Opportunity.</i>
Thursday the 29 Nov.	<i>The Humorous Lieutenant.</i>
Saterday the 1 Dec.	<i>Clarecilla.</i>
Monday the 3 Dec.	<i>A Kinge and no Kinge.</i>
Thursday the 6 Dec.	<i>Rollo, Duke of Normandy.</i>
Saterday the 8 Dec.	<i>The Moore of Venise.</i>
Monday the 9 Jan.	<i>The Weddinge.</i>

1660. Saterday the 19 Jan. *The Lost Lady.*
 Thursday the 31 Jan. *Argalus and Parthenia.*

			Loyal Subject.
Feb.	-	-	Mad Lover.
			The Wild-goose Chase.
1661. March	}		All's Loste by Luste.
April		-	The Mayd in the Mill.
May		-	A Wife for a Monthe.
			The Bondman.
Decemb. 10	-	-	A Dancing Master.
Decemb. 11	-	-	Vittoria Corombona.
Decemb. 13	-	-	The Country Captaine.
Decemb. 16	-	-	The Alchymist.
Decemb. 17	-	-	Bartholomew Faire.
Decemb. 20	-	-	The Spanish Curate.
Decemb. 23	-	-	Tamer Tamed.
Decemb. 28	-	-	Aglaura.
Decemb. 30	-	-	Buffy D'ambois.
Janu. 6	-	-	Merry Devil of Edmon- ton.
Jan. 10	-	-	The Virgin Martyr.
Jan. 11	-	-	Philaster.
Jan. 21	-	-	Jovial Crew.
Jan. 28	-	-	Rule a Wife and have a Wife.
Feb. 15	-	-	Kinge and no Kinge.
Feb. 25	-	-	The Mayds Tragedy.
Feb. 27	-	-	Aglaura; the tragical way.
March 1	-	-	Humorous Lieutenant.
March 3	-	-	Selindra—a new play.
March 11	-	-	The Frenche Dancing Master.

1661. March 15	-	The Little Theef.
1662. April 4	-	Northerne Laffe.
April 19	-	Fathers own Son.
April 25	-	The Surprifal—a new play.
May 5	-	Kt. of the Burning Pestle.
May 12	-	Brenoralt.
May 17	-	Love in a maze.
1661. Octob. 26	-	Loves Mistrefs. Discontented Collonell. Love at first fight.
1662. June 1	-	Cornelia, a new play.— Sir W. Bartleys.
June 6	-	Renegado.
July 6	-	The Brothers. The Antipodes.
July 23	-	The Cardinall.

From another list, which undoubtedly was made by Sir Henry Herbert for the purpose I have mentioned, I learn that *Macbeth* was revived in 1663 or 1664; I suppose as altered by D'Avenant.

" Nov. 3. 1663. <i>Flora's Figaries</i>	-	£.2.	-	-
" A pastoral called <i>The Ex-</i>	}	2.	-	-
posure				
" 8 more	-	16.	-	-
" A new play	-	1.	-	-
" <i>Henry the 5th</i>	-	2.	-	-
" Revived play. <i>Taming the</i>	}	1.	-	-
<i>Shrew</i>				
" <i>The Generall</i>	-	2.	-	-
" <i>Parsons Wedinge</i>	-	2.	-	-
" Revived play. <i>Macbeth</i>	-	1.	-	-
" <i>K. Henry 8.</i> Revived play	-	1.	-	-

" House to be let	-	-	2.	-	-
" More for plays, whereof	}		9.	-	-
Elvira the last					
" For playes	-		£.41."		

Sir William D'Avenant's Company, after having played for some time at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and at Salisbury Court, removed in March or April 1662, to a new theatre in Portugal Row, near Lincoln's Inn Fields. Mr. Betterton, his principal actor, we are told by Downes, was admired in the part of Pericles, which he frequently performed before the opening of the new theatre; and while this company continued to act in Portugal Row, they represented the following plays of Shakspeare, and it should seem those only: *Macbeth* and *The Tempest*, altered by D'Avenant; *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, *King Henry the Eighth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Twelfth-Night*. In *Hamlet*, the Prince of Denmark was represented by Mr. Betterton; the Ghost by Mr. Richards; Horatio by Mr. Harris; the Queen by Mrs. Davenport; and Ophelia by Mrs. Saunderson. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo was represented by Mr. Harris; Mercutio by Mr. Betterton, and Juliet by Mrs. Saunderson. Mr. Betterton in *Twelfth Night* performed Sir Toby Belch, and in *Henry the Eighth*, the King. He was without doubt also the performer of *King Lear*. Mrs. Saunderson represented Catharine in *King Henry the Eighth*, and it may be presumed, Cordelia, and Miranda. She also performed Lady Macbeth, and Mr. Betterton Macbeth.

The theatre which had been erected in Portugal Row, being found too small, Sir William D'Ave-

nant laid the foundation of a new playhouse in Dorset Garden, near Dorset Stairs, which however he did not live to see completed; for he died in May, 1668, and it was not opened till 1671. There being strong reason to believe that he was our poet's son, I have been induced by that circumstance to inquire with some degree of minuteness into his history. I have mentioned in a preceding page that the account given of him by Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, was taken from Mr. Aubrey's Manuscript. Since that sheet was printed, Mr. Warton has obligingly furnished me with an exact transcript of the article relative to D'Avenant, which, as it contains some particulars not noticed by Wood, I shall here subjoin:

“ MS. Aubrey. Mus. ASHMOL. LIVES.

SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT, KNIGHT,
POET-LAUREAT,⁹

was borne about the end of February in ——— street in the city of Oxford, at the Crowne Taverne; baptized 3 of March A. D. 1605-6. His father was John Davenant, a vintner there, a very grave and discreet citizen: his mother was a very beautiful woman, and of a very good witt, and of conversation extremely agreeable. They had 3 sons, viz. Robert, William, and Nicholas; (Robert was a fellow of St. John's Coll. in Oxon. then preferred to the vicarage of Westkington by Bp. Davenant,

⁹ Mr. Warton informs me, that “ it appears by Aubrey's letters that this Life of Davenant was sent to Wood, and drawn up at his request.”

whose chaplain he was ; Nicholas was an attorney :) and 2 handsome daughters ; one m. to Gabriel Bradly, B. D. of C. C. C. beneficed in the vale of White Horse ; another to Dr. Sherburne, minister of *Pembordge* [—bridge] in Heref. and canon of that church. Mr. W^m Shakspeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare, and did commonly in his journey lie at this house in Oxon. where he was exceedingly respected. Now Sir William would sometimes, when he was pleasant over a glasse of wine with his most intimate friends, (e. g. Sam Butler, author of *Hudibras*, *etc.* *etc.*) say, that it seem'd to him, that he writt with the very spirit that Shakespeare [wrote with], and was contented enough to bee thought his son : he would tell them the story as above. He went to schoole at Oxon. to Mr. Silvester, Charles Wheare, F. [*filius*] Degorii W., was his schoolfellow : but I feare, he was drawne from schoole, before he was ripe enoughe. He was preferred to the first Dutcheffs of Richmond, to wayte on her as a page. I remember, he told me, she sent him to a famous apothecary for some unicorne's horne, which he was resolved to try with a spyder, which he empaled in it, but without the expected success : the spider would goe over and through and thorough, unconcerned. He was next a servant (as I remember, a page also) to Sir Fulke Grevil Ld Brookes, with whom he lived to his death ; which was, that a servant of his that had long wayted on him, and his lor— [lordship] had often told him, that he would doe something for him, but did not, but still put him off with delay ; as he was trussing up his lord's pointes, comeing from stoole, [for then their breeches were fastened to the doublets with pointes ; then came in hookes and eies, which not

to have fastened was in my boyhood a great crime,] stabbed him. This was at the same time that the duke of Buckingham was stabbed by Felton; and the great noise and report of the duke's, Sir W. told me, quite drown'd this of his lord's, that was scarce taken notice of. This Sir Fulke G. was a good wit, and had been a good poet in his youth: he wrote a poeme in folio, which he printed not, till he was old, and then, as Sir W. said, with too much judgement and refining spoiled it, which was at first a delicate thing. He [Dav.] writt a play, or plays, and verses, which he did with so much sweetnesse and grace, that by it he got the love and friendship of his two Mæcenaces, Mr. Endymion Porter, and Mr. Henry Jermyn, [since E. of St. Albans] to whom he has dedicated his poem called Madegascar. Sir John Suckling was his great and intimate friend. After the death of Ben Johnson, he was made in his place Poet Laureat. He got a terrible c—p of a black handsome wench, that lay in Axe-Yard, Westm.: whom he thought on, when he speaks of Dalga, [in Gondibert] which cost him his nose; with which unlucky mischance many witts were so cruelly bold, e. g. Sir John Menis, Sir John Denham, *etc. etc.* In 1641, when the troubles began, he was faine to fly into France, and at Canterbury he was seized on by the Mayor.

- “ For Will had in his face the flaws
- “ And markes received in country's cause.
- “ They flew on him like lyons passant,
- “ And tore his nose, as much as was on't;
- “ And call'd him superstitious groome,
- “ And Popish dog, and cur of Rome.
- “ ——— 'twas surely the first time,
- “ That Will's religion was a crime.”

“ In the Civill Warres in England, he was in the army of William Marquesse of Newcastle, [since Duke] where he was generall of the ordinance. I have heard his brother Robert say, for that service there was owing to him by King Charles the First 10000l. During that warre 'twas his hap to have two Aldermen of Yorke his prisoners, who were somethinge stubborne, and would not give the ran-some ordered by the councill of warre. Sir William used them civilly, and treated them in his tent, and fate them at the upper end of his table *à la mode de France*. And having done so a good while to his charge, told them (privately and friendly) that he was not able to keepe so charge-able guests, and bade them take an opportunity to escape; which they did; but having been gon a little way, they considered with themselves, that in gratitude they ought to goe back, and give Sir William their thankes, which they did: but it was like to have been to their great danger of being taken by the soldiers; but they happened to gett safe to Yorke.

“ The king's party being overcome, Sir W. Davenant, (who had the honour of knighthood from the D. of Newcastle by commiffion,) went into France, and resided in Paris, where the Prince of Wales then was. He then began to write his romance in verse called *Gondibert*; and had not writt above the first booke, but being very fond of it printed it, before a quarter finished, with an epistle of his to Mr. Th. Hobbes, and Mr. Hobbes' excellent epistle to him printed before it. The courtiers, with the Prince of Wales, could never be at quiet about this piece, which was the occasion of a very witty but satirical little booke of verses

in 8vo. about 4 sheets, writt by G. D. of Bucks, Sir John Denham, *etc. etc.*

“ That thou forsak'd thy sleepe, thy diet,
 “ And what is more than that, our quiet.”¹

“ This last word, Mr. Hobbes told me, was the occasion of their writing.

“ Here he lay'd an ingeniose designe to carry a considerable number of artificers (chiefly weavers) from hence to Virginia; and by Mary the Q's. mother's meanes he got favour from the K. of France to goe into the prisons, and pick and chuse: so when the poor dammed wretches understood, what the designe was, they cryed *uno ore, tont tisseran*, we are all weavers. Well, 36, as I remember, he got, if not more, and shipped them; and as he was in his voyage towards Virginia, he and his *tisseran* were all taken by the ships then belonging to the parliament of England. The slaves, I suppose, they sold, but Sir William was brought prisoner into England. Whether he was first a prisoner in Carefbroke Castle in the Isle of Wight, or at the Towr of London, I have forgott; he was prisoner at both: his Gondibert was finished at Carefbroke Castle. He expected no mercy from the parliament, and had no hopes of escaping with his life. It pleased God, that the two aldermen of Yorke afore-said, hearing that he was taken and brought to London to be tryed for his life, which they understood was in extreme danger, they were touched with so much generosity and goodnes, as upon their own

¹ These lines are inaccurately quoted by memory from *Certain Verses written by severall of the author's friends, to be re-printed with the second edition of Gondibert*, 1653.

accounts and mere motion to try what they could to save Sir William's life, who had been so civil to them, and a means of saving theirs ; to come to London ; and acquainting the parliament with it, upon their petition, *etc.* Sir William's life was saved.² 'Twas Harry Martyn, that saved Sir William's life in the house : when they were talking of sacrificing one, then said Hen. that ' in sacrifices they always offered pure and without blemish ; now ye talk of making a sacrifice of an old rotten rascal.' Vid. H. Martyn's life, where by this rare jest, then forgot, the L.^d Falkland saved H. Martyn's life.

" Being freed from imprisonment, because plays (scil. trage. and comedies) were in these presbyterian times scandalous, he contrives to set up an opera, *stylo recitativo* ; wherein Sergeant Maynard and several citizens were engagers ; it began in Rutland House in Charter-house-yard : next, scilicet anno—at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane, where were acted very well, *stylo recitativo*, *Sir Francis Drake*, and the *Siege of Rhodes*, 1st and 2nd. part. It did affect the eie and eare extremely. This first brought SCENES in fashion in England : before, at plays was *only an hanging*.³

" Anno Domini 1660, was the happy restauration of his Majesty Charles IInd. ; then was Sir William made — — — — — and the Tennis-

² Mr. Warton observes to me, that " Aubrey does not say here, that *Milton* (with the two aldermen) was instrumental in saving D'Avenant's life. Dr. Johnson is puzzled on what authority to fix this anecdote. *Life of Milton*, p. 181, 8vo. edit. I believe that anecdote was first retailed in print by Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* II. 412."

³ Here we have another and a decisive confirmation of what has been stated in a former page on the subject of scenes. See p. 90, *et seq.*

Court in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields was turned into a playhouse for the Duke of York's players, where Sir William had lodgings, and where he dyed, Aprill —166—. I was at his funeral: he had a coffin of walnut tree: Sir John Denham said, that it was the finest coffin that he ever saw. His body was carried in a hearse from the playhouse to Westminster-Abbey, where at the great west dore he was received by the sing [ing] men and choristers, who sang the service of the church (*I am the Resurrection, etc. etc.*) to his grave, which is near to the monument of Dr. Isaac Barrow, which is in the South Crosse aisle, on which in a paving stone of marble is writt, in imitation of that on Ben. Johnson, O rare Sir William Davenant.

“ His first lady was Dr. ———'s daughter, physician, by whom he had a very beautiful and ingenious son, that dyed above twenty years since. His second lady was daughter of ———, by whom he had several children. I saw some very young ones at the funerall. His eldest is Charles D'Avenant, the Doctor, who inherits his father's beauty and phancy. He practices at Doctor's Commons. He writt a play called *Circe*, which has taken very well. Sir William hath writt about 25 plays, the romance called *Gondibert*, and a little poem called *Madagascar*.

“ His private opinion was, that religion at last [e. g. a hundred years hence] would come to settlement; and that in a kind of ingenious Quakerisme.”⁴

⁴ The following plays, written by Sir William D'Avenant, were licensed by the Master of the Revels in the following order:

On the 9th of Novemb. 1671, D'Avenant's company removed to their new theatre in Dorset

The Cruel Brother, Jan. 12, 1626-7.

The Colonel, July 22, 1629.

The Just Italian, Octob. 2, 1629.

The Wits, Jan. 19, 1633-4.

Love and Honour, Nov. 20, 1634.

News of Plymouth, Aug. 1, 1635.

Platonick Lovers, Nov. 16, 1635.

Britannia Triumphans, licensed for press, Jan. 8, 1637.

Unfortunate Lovers, April 16, 1638.

Fair Favourite, Nov. 17, 1638.

The Spanish Lovers, Nov. 30, 1639.

This piece is probably the play which in his works is called *The Distresses*.

Love and Honour was originally called *The Courage of Love*. It was afterwards named by Sir Henry Herbert, at D'Avenant's request, *The Nonpareilles, or the Matchless Maids*.

In 1668 was published *Sir William D'Avenant's Voyage to the other World, with his Adventures in the Poet's Elixium*, written by Richard Flecknoe, which I subjoin to the memoirs of that poet. Consisting only of a single sheet, the greater part of the impression has probably perished, for I have never met with a second copy of this piece :

“ Sir William D'Avenant being dead, not a poet would afford him so much as an elegie ; whether because he sought to make a monopoly of the art, or strove to become rich in spite of Minerva : it being with poets as with mushrooms, which grow onely on barren ground, enrich the soyl once, and then degenerate : onely one, more humane than the rest, accompany'd him to his grave with this eulogium :

‘ Now Davenant's dead, the stage will mourn,
‘ And all to barbarism turn ;
‘ Since he it was, this later age,
‘ Who chiefly civiliz'd the stage.

‘ Great was his wit, his fancy great,
‘ As e're was any poet's yet ;
‘ And more advantage none e'er made
‘ O' th' wit and fancy which he had.

Gardens, which was opened, not with one of

- ‘ Not onely Dedalus’ arts he knew,
- ‘ But even Prometheus’s too ;
- ‘ And living machins made of men,
- ‘ As well as dead ones, for the scene.
- ‘ And if the stage or theatre be
- ‘ A little world, ’twas chiefly he,
- ‘ That, Atlas-like, supported it,
- ‘ By force of industry and wit.
- ‘ All this, and more, he did beside,
- ‘ Which having perfected, he dy’d :
- ‘ If he may properly be said
- ‘ To die, whose fame will ne’er be dead.’

“ Another went further yet, and using the privilege of your antient poets, who with almost as much certainty as your divines, can tell all that passes in the other world, did thus relate his voyage thither, and all his adventures in the poet’s elyzium.

“ As every one at the instant of their deaths, have passports given them for some place or other, he had his for the poet’s elyzium ; which not without much difficulty he obtained from the officers of Parnassus : for when he alledg’d, he was an heroic poet, they ask’d him why he did not continue it ? when he said he was a dramattick too, they ask’d him, why he left it off, and onely studied to get money ; like him who sold his horse to buy him provender : and finally, when he added, he was poet laureate, they laugh’d, and said, bays was never more cheap than now ; and that since Petrarch’s time, none had ever been legitimately crown’d.

“ Nor had he less difficulty with Charon, who hearing he was rich, thought to make booty of him, and ask’d an extraordinary price for his passage over ; but coming to payment, he found he was so poor, as he was ready to turn him back agen, he having hardly so much as his *naulum*, or the price of every ordinary passenger.

“ Being arriv’d, they were all much amaz’d to see him there, they having never heard of his being dead, neither by their weekly gazets, nor cryers of verses and pamphlets up and down ; (as common a trade there, almost as it is here :) nor was he less amaz’d than they, to find never a poet there, antient nor modern, whom in some sort or other he had not disoblig’d by his discommendations ; as Homer, Virgil, Tasso, Spencer, and espe-

Shakspeare's plays, but with Dryden's comedy called *Sir Martin Marall*.⁵

cially Ben. Johnson ; contrary to Plinies rule, never to discommend any of the same profession with our selves : ' for either they are better or worse than you (says he) ; if better, if they be not worthy commendations, you much less ; if worse, if they be worth commendations, you much more : so every ways advantageous 'tis for us to commend others.' Nay, even Shakespear, whom he thought to have found his greatest friend, was as much offended with him as any of the rest, for so spoiling and mangling of his plays. But he who most vexed and tormented him, was his old antagonist Jack Donne, who mock'd him a hundred passages out of Gondibert ; and after a world of other railing and spiteful language (at which the doctor was excellent) so exasperated the knight, at last, as they fell together by the ears : when but imagine

' What tearing noses had been there,
' Had they but noses for to tear.'*

" Mean time the comick poets made a ring about them, as boys do when they hiss dogs together by the ears ; till at last they were separated by Pluto's officers, as diligent to keep the peace and part the fray, as your Italian Sbirri, or Spanish Alguazilo ; and so they drag'd them both away, the doctor to the stocks, for raising tumult and disturbances in hell, and the knight to the tribunal, where Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus were to sit in judgement on him, with Momus the common accuser of the court.

" Here being arriv'd, and silence commanded, they ask'd him his quality and profession : to whom he answer'd, he was a Poet-laureate, who for poetry in general had not his fellow alive, and had left none to equal him now he was dead : and for eloquence,

⁵ The building, scenes, &c. of that theatre cost 5000*l*. according to a statement given in a petition presented to Queen Anne about the year 1709, by Charles D'Avenant, Charles Killegrew, Christopher Rich, and others.

* John Donne, the eldest son of Donne the poet, was a Civilian. He is said to have met with a misfortune similar to that of D'Avenant.

Between the year 1671 and 1682, when the King's and the Duke of York's servants united, (about

“ *How never any hyperbolies*
 “ *Were higher, or farther stretch'd than his ;*
 “ *Nor ever comparisons again*
 “ *Made things compar'd more clear and plain.*

Then for his plays or dramatick poetry.

“ *How that of The Unfortunate Lovers*
 “ *The depth of tragedy discovers :*
 “ *In's Love and Honour you might see*
 “ *The height of tragecomedy ;*
 “ *And for his Wits, the comick fire*
 “ *In none yet ever flam'd up higher :*
 “ *But coming to his Siege of Rhodes,*
 “ *It outwent all the rest by odds ;*
 “ *And somewhat's in't, that does out-do*
 “ *Both th' antients and the moderns too.*

“ To which Momus answered : that though they were never so good, it became not him to commend them as he did ; that there were faults enough to be found in them ; and that he had mar'd more good plays, than ever he had made ; that all his wit lay in hyperbolies and comparisons, which, when accessory, were commendable enough, but when principal, deserved no great commendations ; that his muse was none of the nine, but onely a mungril, or by-blow of Parnassus, and her beauty rather sophistificate than natural ; that he offer'd at learning and philosophy, but as pullen and stubble geese offer'd to fly, who after they had flutter'd up a while, at length came fluttering down as fast agen ; that he was with his high-sounding words, but like empty hogsheds, the higher they sounded, the emptier still they were ; and that, finally, he so perplex'd himself and readers with parenthesis on parenthesis, as, just as in a wilderness or labyrinth, all sense was lost in them.

“ As for his life and manners, they would not examine those, since 'twas suppos'd they were licentious enough ; only he wou'd say,

“ *He was a good companion for*
 “ *The rich, but ill one for the poor ;*

which time Charles Hart,⁶ the principal support of the former company, died,) *King Lear*, *Timon of*

“ On whom he look’d so, you’d believe
 “ He walk’d with a face negative :
 “ Whilst he must be a lord at least,
 “ For whom he’d smile or break a jeast.

“ And though this, and much more, was exaggerated against him by Momus, yet the judges were so favourable to him, because he had left the muses for Pluto, as they condemned him onely to live in Pluto’s court, to make him and Proserpina merry with his facetious jeasts and stories ; with whom in short time he became so gracious, by complying with their humours, and now and then dressing a dish or two of meat for them,* as they joyn’d him in patent with Momus, and made him superintendent of all their sports and recreations : so as, onely changing place and persons, he is now in as good condition as he was before ; and lives the same life there, as he did here.

“ POSTSCRIPT.

“ *To the Actors of the Theatre in Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields.*

“ I promised you a sight of what I had written of Sir William D’Avenant, and now behold it here : by it you will perceive how much they abused you, who told you it was such an abusive thing. If you like it not, take heed hereafter how you disoblige him, who can not onely write for you, but against you too.

“ RICH. FLECKNOE.”

⁶ From the preface to Settle’s *Fatal Love*, 1680, it should seem that he had then retired from the stage, perhaps in the preceding year ; for in the prologue to *The Ambitious Statesman*, 1679, are these lines, evidently alluding to him and Mr. Mohun :

“ The time’s neglect and maladies have thrown
 “ The two great pillars of our playhouse down.”

* This seems to allude to a fact then well known. D’Avenant was probably admitted to the private suppers of Charles the Second.

Athens, *Macbeth*, and *The Tempest*, were the only plays of our author that were exhibited at the

Charles Hart, who, I believe, was our poet's great nephew, is said to have been Nell Gwin's first lover, and was the most celebrated tragedian of his time.

"What Mr. Hart delivers, (says Rymer,) every one takes upon content; their eyes are prepossessed and charmed by his action before aught of the poet's can approach their ears; and to the most wretched of characters he gives a lustre and brilliant, which dazzles the sight, that the deformities in the poetry cannot be perceived." "Were I a poet, (says another contemporary writer,) nay a Fletcher, a Shakspeare, I would quit my own title to immortality, so that one actor might never die. This I may modestly say of him, (nor is it my particular opinion, but the sense of all mankind,) that the best tragedies on the English stage have received their lustre from Mr. Hart's performance; that he has left such an impression behind him, that no less than the interval of an age can make them appear again with half their majesty from any second hand."

In a pamphlet entitled *The Life of the late Famous Comedian*, J. Hayns, 8vo. 1701, a characteristick trait of our poet's kinsman is preserved:

"About this time [1673] there happened a small pick between Mr. Hart and Jo, upon the account of his late negociation in France,* and there spending the company so much money to so little purpose, or, as I may more properly say, to no purpose at all.

"There happened to be one night a play acted called *Catiline's Conspiracy*, wherein there was wanting a great number of senators. Now Mr. Hart, being chief of the house, would oblige Jo to dress for one of these senators, although his salary, being 50s. per week, freed him from any such obligation.

"But Mr. Hart, as I said before, being sole governour of the play-house, and at a small variance with Jo, commands it, and the other must obey.

"Jo, being vexed at the slight Mr. Hart had put upon him, found out this method of being revenged on him. He gets a Scaramouch dress, a large full ruff, makes himself whiflers from ear to ear, puts on his head a long Merry Andrew's cap, a short

* Soon after the theatre in Drury Lane was burnt down, Jan. 1671-2, Hayns had been sent to Paris by Mr. Hart and Mr. Killigrew, to examine the machinery employed in the French Operas.

theatre in Dorset Gardens; and the three latter were not represented in their original state, but as altered by D'Avenant⁷ and Shadwell. Between 1682 and 1695, when Mr. Congreve, Mr. Betterton, Mrs. Barry, and Mrs. Bracegirdle, obtained a licence to open a new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, *Othello*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and

pipe in his mouth, a little three-legged stool in his hand; and in this manner follows Mr. Hart on the stage, sets himself down behind him, and begins to smoke his pipe, laugh, and point at him. Which comical figure put all the house in an uproar, some laughing, some clapping, and some hollaing. Now Mr. Hart, as those who knew him can aver, was a man of that exactness and grandeur on the stage, that let what would happen, he'd never discompose himself, or mind any thing but what he then represented; and had a scene fallen behind him, he would not at that time look back, to have seen what was the matter; which Jo knowing, remained still smoaking: the audience continued laughing, Mr. Hart acting, and wondering at this unusual occasion of their mirth; sometimes thinking it some disturbance in the house, again that it might be something amiss in his dress: at last turning himself toward the scenes, he discovered Jo in the aforesaid posture; whereupon he immediately goes off the stage, swearing he would never set foot on it again, unless Jo was immediately turned out of doors, which was no sooner spoke, but put in practice."

⁷ "The tragedy of *Macbeth*, altered by Sir William D'Avenant, being dressed in all its finery, as new cloaths, new scenes, machines, as flyings for the witches, with all the singing and dancing in it, (the first composed by Mr. Lock, the other by Mr. Channel and Mr. Joseph Priest,) it being all excellently performed, *being in the nature of an opera*, it recompenced double the expence: it proves still a lasting play." *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 33, 8vo. 1708.

"In 1673, *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island*, made into an opera by Mr. Shadwell, having all new in it, as scenes, machines; one scene painted with myriads of aerial spirits, and another flying away, with a table furnished out with fruits, sweetmeats, and all sorts of viands, just when duke Trinculo and his company were going to dinner; all things were performed in it so admirably well, that not any succeeding opera got more money." *Ibidem*, p. 34.

The Taming of the Shrew, are the only plays of Shakspeare which Downes the prompter mentions, as having been performed by the united companies: *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* was transformed into an opera, and *The Taming of the Shrew* was exhibited as altered by Lacy. Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, however, the two parts of *King Henry IV. Twelfth Night*, *Macbeth*, *King Henry VIII. Julius Cæsar*, and *Hamlet*, were without doubt sometimes represented in the same period: and Tate and Durfey furnished the scene with miserable alterations of *Coriolanus*, *King Richard II. King Lear*, and *Cymbeline*.⁸ Otway's *Caius Marius*, which was produced in 1680, usurped the place of our poet's *Romeo and Juliet* for near seventy years, and Lord Lansdown's *Jew of Venice* kept possession of the stage from the time of its first exhibition in 1701, to the year 1741. Dryden's *All for Love*, from 1678 to 1759, was performed instead of our author's *Antony and Cleopatra*; and D'Avenant's alteration of *Macbeth* in like manner was preferred to our author's tragedy, from its first exhibition in 1663, for near eighty years.

In the year 1700 Cibber produced his alteration of *King Richard III.* I do not find that this play, which was so popular in Shakspeare's time, was performed from the time of the Restoration to the end of the last century. The play with Cibber's alterations was once performed at Drury Lane in 1703, and lay dormant from that time to the 28th of Jan. 1710, when it was revived at the Opera

⁸ *King Richard II.* and *King Lear* were produced by Tate in 1681, before the union of the two companies; and *Coriolanus*, under the title of *The Ingratitude of a Common wealth*, in 1682. In the same year appeared Durfey's alteration of *Cymbeline*, under the title of *The Injured Princess*.

House in the Haymarket; since which time it has been represented, I believe, more frequently than any of our author's dramas, except *Hamlet*.

On April 23, 1704, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, by command of the Queen, was performed at St. James's, by the actors of both houses, and afterwards publickly represented at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, May 18, in the same year, by Mr. Betterton's company; but although the whole force of his company was exerted in the representation, the piece had so little success, that it was not repeated till Nov. 3, 1720, when it was again revived at the same theatre, and afterwards frequently performed.

From 1709, when Mr. Rowe published his edition of Shakspeare, the exhibition of his plays became much more frequent than before. Between that time and 1740, our poet's *Hamlet*, *Julius Cæsar*, *King Henry VIII.* *Othello*, *King Richard III.* *King Lear*, and the two parts of *King Henry IV.* were very frequently exhibited. Still, however, such was the wretched taste of the audiences of those days, that in many instances the contemptible alterations of his pieces were preferred to the originals. Durfey's *Injured Princess*, which had not been acted from 1697, was again revived at Drury Lane, October 5, 1717, and afterwards often represented. Even Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus*, in which all the faults of the original are greatly aggravated, took its turn on the scene, and after an intermission of fifteen years was revived at Drury Lane in August, 1717, and afterwards frequently performed both at that theatre and the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where it was exhibited for the first time, Dec. 21, 1720. *Coriolanus*, which had not been acted for twenty years, was revived

at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, Dec. 13, 1718; and in Dec. 1719, *King Richard II.* was revived at the same theatre: but probably neither of these plays was then represented as originally written by Shakspeare.⁹ *Measure for Measure*, which had not been acted, I imagine, from the time of the suppression of the theatres in 1642,¹ was revived at the same theatre, Dec. 8, 1720, for the purpose of producing Mr. Quin in the character of the Duke, which he frequently performed with success in that and the following years. *Much Ado about Nothing*, which had not been acted for thirty years, was revived at Lincoln's Inn Fields, Feb. 9, 1721; but after two representations, on that and the following evening, was laid aside. In Dec. 1723, *King Henry V.*² was announced for representation, "on Shakspeare's foundation," and performed at Drury Lane six times in that month; after which we hear of it no more: and on Feb. 26, 1737, *King John* was revived at Covent Garden. Neither of these plays, I believe, had been exhibited from the time of the downfall of the stage.—At the same theatre our poet's second part of *King Henry IV.* which had for fifty years been driven from the scene by the play which Mr. Betterton substituted in its place, resumed its station, being produced at Covent Garden, Feb. 16, 1738; and on the 23d of the same month Shakspeare's *King Henry V.* was performed there as originally written,

⁹ In the theatrical advertisement, Feb. 6, 1738, *King Richard II.* (which was then produced at Covent Garden,) was said not to have been acted for *forty* years.

¹ On the revival of this play in 1720, it was announced as not having been acted for *twenty* years; but the piece which had been performed in the year 1700, was not Shakspeare's, but Gildon's.

² This was by Aaron Hill. REED.

after an interval, if the theatrical advertisement be correct, of forty years. In the following March the same company once exhibited *The First Part of King Henry VI.* for the first time, as they asserted, for fifty years.² *As you like it* was announced for representation at Drury Lane, December 20, 1740, as not having been acted for forty years, and represented twenty-six times in that season. At Goodman's Fields, Jan. 15, 1741, *The Winter's Tale* was announced, as not having been acted for one hundred years; but was not equally successful, being only performed nine times. At Drury Lane, Feb. 14, 1741, *The Merchant of Venice*, which, I believe, had not been acted for one hundred years, was once more restored to the scene by Mr. Macklin, who on that night first represented Shylock; a part which for near fifty years he has performed with unrivalled success. In the following month the company at Goodman's Fields endeavoured to make a stand against him by producing *All's well that ends well*, which, they asserted, "had not been acted since Shakspeare's time." But the great theatrical event of this year was the appearance of Mr. Garrick at the theatre in Goodman's Fields, Oct. 19, 1741; whose good taste led him to study the plays of Shakspeare with more assiduity than any of his predecessors. Since that time, in consequence of Mr. Garrick's admirable performance of many of his principal characters, the frequent representation of his plays in nearly their original state, and above all, the various researches which have been made for the purpose of explaining and

² *King Henry VI.* altered from Shakspeare by Theophilus Cibber, was performed by a summer company at Drury Lane, July 5, 1723; but it met with no success, being represented only once.

illustrating his works, our poet's reputation has been yearly increasing, and is now fixed upon a basis, which neither the lapse of time nor the fluctuation of opinion will ever be able to shake. Here therefore I conclude this imperfect account of the origin and progress of the English Stage.

ADDITIONS.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

JUST as this work was issuing from the press, some curious Manuscripts relative to the stage, were found at Dulwich College, and obligingly transmitted to me from thence. One of these is a large folio volume of accounts kept by Mr. Philip Henflowe, who appears to have been proprietor of the Rose Theatre, near the Bankside in Southwark.

The celebrated player Edward Alleyn, who has erroneously been supposed by Mr. Oldys, the writer of his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, to have had three wives, was married, as appears from an entry in this book, to Joan Woodward, on the 22d of October, 1592, at which time he was about twenty-six years old. This lady, who died in 1623, was

the daughter of Agnes, the widow of — Woodward, whom Mr. Philip Henflowe, after the death of Woodward, married : so that Mr. Henflowe was not, as has been supposed, Alleyn's father-in-law, but only step-father to his wife.

This MS. contains a great number of curious notices relative to the dramatick poets of the time, and their productions, from the year 1597 to 1603, during which time Mr. Henflowe kept an exact account of all the money which he disbursed for the various companies of which he had the management, for copies of plays and the apparel which he bought for their representation. I find here notices of a great number of plays now lost, with the author's names, and several entries that tend to throw a light on various particulars which have been discussed in the preceding *History of the English Stage*, as well as the *Essay on the order of time in which Shakspeare's plays were written*. A still more curious part of this MS. is a register of all the plays performed by the servants of Lord Strange, and the Lord Admiral, and by other companies, between the 19th of February, 1591-2, and November 5, 1597. This register strongly confirms the conjectures that have been hazarded relative to *The First Part of King Henry VI.* and the play which I have supposed to have been written on the subject of *Hamlet*. In a bundle of loose papers has also been found an exact Inventory of the Wardrobe, play-books, properties, &c. belonging to the Lord Admiral's servants.

Though it is not now in my power to arrange these very curious materials in their proper places, I am unwilling that the publick should be deprived of the information and entertainment which they may afford ; and therefore shall extract from them

all such notices as appear to me worthy of preservation.

In the register of plays the same piece is frequently repeated: but of these repetitions I have taken no notice, having transcribed only the account of the first representation of each piece, with the sum which Mr. Henflowe gained by it.³

By the subsequent representations, sometimes a larger, and sometimes a less, sum, was gained. The figures within crotchets show how often each piece was represented within the time of each account.

³ It is clear from subsequent entries made by Mr. Henflowe that the sums in the margin opposite to each play, were not the total receipts of the house, but what he received as a proprietor from either half or the whole of the galleries, which appear to have been appropriated to him to reimburse him for expences incurred in dresses, copies, &c. for the theatre. The profit derived from the rooms or boxes, &c. was divided among such of the players as possessed *shares*. In a subsequent page I find—“Here I begynne to receive the *whole galleryes* from this day, beinge 29 of July 1598.” At the bottom of the account, which ends Oct. 13, 1599, is this note: “Received with the company of my lord of Nottinghams men, to this place, being the 13 of October, 1599, and yt doth apeare that I have received of the *deate* which they owe unto me, iij hundred fiftie and eyght pounds.”

Again: “Here I begane to receive the *galleryes* agayne, which they received, begynninge at Mihellmas weeke, being the 6 of October, 1599, as followeth.”

Again: “My lord of Pembrokes men beganne to playe at the Rose, the 28 of October, 1600, as followeth:

s. d.

“R. at *licke unto licke*, 11. 6.

“R. at *Raderick*——— v. —.”

Five shillings could not possibly have been the total receipt of the house, and therefore must have been that which the proprietor received on his separate account.

" *In the name of God, Amen, 1591, beginnunge the 19 of febreary my g. lord Stranges men, as followeth, 1591 :*

R. at <i>fryer bacone</i> , ⁴ the 19 of febreary, (faterday) [4]	l.	s.	d.
— <i>mulomurco</i> , ⁵ the 20 of febr. [11] - -	o.	xvii.	iii.
— <i>orlando</i> , ⁶ the 21 of febreary [1] - -	o.	xxix.	o.
— <i>spanes</i> (Spanish) comedye <i>don oracio</i> (Don Horatio) the 23 of febreary, [3]	o.	xiii.	vi.
— <i>Syr John mandeville</i> , the 24 of febreary, [5]	o.	xii.	vi.
— <i>harey of cornwell</i> , (Henry of Cornwall) the 25 of febreary 1591, [3] -	o.	xxxii.	o.
— <i>the Jew of malltuse</i> , (Malta) the 26 of febreary 1591, [10] - -	o.	l.	o.
— <i>clorys and orgasto</i> the 28 of febreary 1591, [1]	o.	xviii.	o.
— <i>poope Jone</i> , the 4 of marche 1591, [1] - -	o.	xv.	o.
— <i>matchavell</i> , the 2 of marche 1591, [3] - -	o.	xiii.	o.
— <i>henery the vi.</i> ⁷ the 3 of marche 1591, [13] -	iii.	vi.	8

⁴ *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, by Robert Greene.

⁵ In a subsequent entry called *Mulamulluco*. The play meant was probably *The Battle of Alcazar*. See the first speech :

" This brave barbarian lord, *Muly Mulocco*," &c.

⁶ *Orlando Furioso*, by Robert Greene, printed in 1599.

⁷ In the *Dissertation on the Three Parts of King Henry VI.*

R. at <i>bendo</i> ⁸ and <i>Richardo</i> , the	l.	s.	d.
4 of marche 1591, [3]	0.	xvi.	0.
— <i>iiii playes in one</i> , ⁹ the 6 of			
marche 1591 [4]	iii.	xi.	0.
— <i>the looking glafs</i> , ¹ the 8 of			
marche 1591, [4]	0.	vii.	0.
— <i>fenobia</i> (Zenobia) the 9 of			
marche 1591, [1] -	0.	xxii.	vi.
— <i>Jeronimo</i> , the 14 marche			
1591, [14] - -	iii.	xi.	0.
— <i>constantine</i> , the 21 of marche			
1591, [1] -	0.	xii.	0.
— <i>Jerusalem</i> , ² the 22 of			
marche 1591, [2] -	0.	xviii.	0.
— <i>brandymmer</i> , the 6 of aprill			
1591, [2] - -	0.	xxii.	0.
— <i>the comedy of Jeronimo</i> , the			
10 of April 1591, [4]	0.	xxviii.	0.

I conjectured that the piece which we now call *The First Part of King Henry VI.* was, when first performed, called *The Play of King Henry VI.* We find here that such was the fact. This play, which I am confident was not originally the production of Shakspeare, but of another poet, was extremely popular, being represented in this season between March 3 and June 19, [1592] no less than thirteen times. Hence Nashe in a pamphlet published in this year, speaks of ten thousand spectators that had seen it. See *Dissertation*, &c. Vol. XIV. p. 231.

⁸ Afterwards written *Byndo*.

⁹ This could not have been the piece called *All's one, or four plays in one*, of which *The Yorkshire Tragedy* made a part, because the fact on which that piece is founded happened in 1605.

¹ *The Looking Glass for London and England*, by Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, printed in 1598.

² Probably *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, by Dr. Thomas Legge. See Wood's *Fast. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 133.

R. at <i>Titus and Vespasian</i> , (Titus Vespasian) the 11 of April 1591, [7]	l.	s.	d.
— <i>the seconde pte of tamberzanne</i> , (Tamberlane) the 28 of april 1592, [5]	iii.	iiii.	0.
— <i>the tanner of Denmarke</i> , the 28 of maye 1592, [1]	iii.	xiii.	0.
— <i>a knacke to know a knave</i> , ³ 10 day [of June] 1592, [3]	iii.	xii.	0.

“ *In the name of God Amen, 1592, beginning the 29 of Desember.*

R. at <i>the gelyons comedey</i> (Julian of Brentford) the 5 of Jenewary 1592, [1]	l.	s.	d.
— <i>the comedy of cosmo</i> , the 12 Jenewary 1592, [2]	0.	xxxxiiii.	0.
— <i>the tragedye of the guyes</i> , ⁴ 30 of Jenewary, ⁵ [1]	iii.	iiii.	0.

“ *In the name of God, Amen, beginning the 27 of Desember 1593, the earle of Suffex his men.*

R. at <i>God spede the plough</i> , [2]	l.	s.	d.
	iii.	i.	0.

³ Printed in 1594.

⁴ Probably *The Massacre of Paris*, by Christopher Marlowe.

⁵ In consequence of the great plague in the year 1593, all theatrical entertainments were forbid.

R. at <i>hewen of Burdocks</i> , (Huon of Bourdeaux) the 28 of Desember 1593, [3]	l.	s.	d.
— <i>george a-green</i> , ⁶ the 28 of Desember 1593, [4] -	iii.	x.	0.
— <i>buckingham</i> , the 30 of De- cember 1593, [4] -	iii.	x.	0.
— <i>Richard the Confessor</i> , ⁷ the 31 of Desember 1593, [2] - -	0.	li.	0.
— <i>william the konkerer</i> , the 4 of Jenewary 1593, [1]	0.	xxxviii.	0.
— <i>frier francis</i> , the 7 of Je- newary 1593, [3] -	0.	xxii.	0.
— <i>the piner of wakefeild</i> , ⁸ the 8 of Jenewary 1593, [1]	iii.	i.	0.
— <i>abrame & lotte</i> , the 9 of Jenewary 1593, [3] -	0.	xxiii.	0.
— <i>the fayre mayd of ytale</i> (Italy) the 12 of Jenewary 1593, [2] -	0.	lii.	0.
— <i>King lude</i> , (Lud) the 18 of Jenewary 1593 [1] -	0.	ix.	0.
— <i>titus and andronicus</i> , ⁹ the 23 of Jenewary, [3] -	0.	xxii.	0.
	iii.	viii.	0.

⁶ This play is printed.

⁷ This piece should seem to have been written by the Tinker in *Taming of the Shrew*, who talks of *Richard Conqueror*.

⁸ This play was printed in 1599.

⁹ The manager of this theatre, who appears to have been extremely illiterate, has made the same mistake in the play of *Titus and Vespasian*. There can be no doubt that this was the original piece, before our poet touched it. At the second representation Mr. Henslowe's share was forty shillings; at the third, the same sum.

*“ In the name of God, Amen, beginninge at easter, the
queenes men and my lord of Suffex together.*

R. at <i>the Rangers comedy</i> ,	2 of	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
April 1593, [1]	-	iii.	0.	0.
— <i>king leare</i> , ¹ the 6 of April				
1593, [2] ²	- -	0.	xxxviii.	0.

*“ In the name of God, Amen, beginninge the 14 of
maye 1594, by my lord admiralls men.*

R. at <i>Cutlacke</i> ,	the 16 of maye	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1594, [1] ³	- -	0.	xxxii.	0.

*“ In the name of God, Amen, beginning at newing-
ton,⁴ my lord admirall men, and my lord cham-
berlen men, as followeth, 1594.*

R. the 3 of June 1594, at <i>heaster</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
and <i>asfeweros</i> , ⁵ [2]	-	0.	viii. 0.

¹ This old play was entered on the Stationers' books in the following year, and published in 1605; but the bookseller, that it might be mistaken for Shakspeare's, took care not to mention by whose servants it had been performed.

² Five other old plays were represented, whose titles have been already given.

³ Two other old plays, whose titles have been already given, on the 14th and 15th of May.

⁴ Howes in his *Continuation of Stowe's Chronicle*, 1631, mentions among the seventeen theatres which had been built within sixty years, "one in former time at *Newington Butts*."

⁵ *Hester and Ahasuerus*.

R. the 5 of June 1594, at <i>andronicus</i> , [2]	-	-	l.	s.	d.
— 6 of June 1594, at <i>cutlache</i> , [12]	-	-	0.	xii.	0.
— 8 of June, at <i>bellendon</i> , [17]	-	-	0.	xi.	0.
— 9 of June 1594, at <i>hamlet</i> , ⁶ [1]	-	-	0.	xyii.	0.
— 11 of June 1594, at <i>the taminge of a shrewe</i> , ⁷ [1]	-	-	0.	viii.	0.
— 12 of June 1594, at <i>the Jew of malta</i> , [18]	-	-	0.	ix.	0.
— 18 of June 1594, at <i>the rangers comedy</i> , [10]	-	-	iii.	0.	0.
— 19 of June, at <i>the guies</i> , ⁸ [10]	-	-	0.	xxii.	0.
	-	-	0.	liii.	0.

⁶ In the *Essay on the Order of Shakspeare's Plays*, I have stated my opinion, that there was a play on the subject of *Hamlet*, prior to our author's; and here we have a full confirmation of that conjecture. It cannot be supposed that our poet's play should have been performed but once in the time of this account, and that Mr. Henslowe should have drawn from such a piece but the sum of eight shillings, when his share in several other plays came to three and sometimes four pounds. It is clear that not one of our author's plays was played at Newington Butts; if one had been performed, we should certainly have found more. The old *Hamlet* had been on the stage before 1589; and to the performance of the Ghost in this piece in the summer of 1594, without doubt it is, that Dr. Lodge alludes, in his *Wit's Miserie*, &c. 4to. 1596, when he speaks of "a foul lubber, who looks as pale as the vizard of the ghost, who cried so miserably at the theatre, *Hamlet, revenge*."

⁷ The play which preceded Shakspeare's. It was printed in 1607. There is a slight variation between the titles; our poet's piece being called *The Taming of the Shrew*.

⁸ *The Guise*. It is afterwards called *The Masacre*, i. e. *The Massacre of Paris*, by Christopher Marlowe.

R. the 26 of June 1594, at <i>galiafe</i> , ⁹	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
[9] - - -	iii.	0.	0.
— 9 of July 1594, at <i>phillipo</i> and <i>hewpolyto</i> , ¹ [12]	iii.	0.	0.
— 19 of July 1594, at the 2 <i>pte of Godfrey of Bullen</i> , [11] - - -	iii.	0.	0.
— 30 of July 1594, at <i>the</i> <i>marchant of camdew</i> , ² [1] - - -	iii.	viii.	0.
— 12 of August 1594, at <i>tassoes</i> <i>mellencoley</i> , ³ [13] - -	iii.	0.	0.
— 15 of August 1594, at <i>ma-</i> <i>homett</i> , ⁴ [8] - - -	iii.	v.	0.
— 25 of August 1594, at <i>the</i> <i>venesyan</i> (Venetian) <i>co-</i> <i>medy</i> , [11] - - -	0.	l.	vi.
— 28 of August, 1594, at <i>tam-</i> <i>berlen</i> , [23] - - -	iii.	xi.	0.
— 17 of september 1594, at <i>palamon & arsett</i> , ⁵ [4]	0.	li.	0.

⁹ Q. *Julius Cæsar*.

¹ This is probably the play which a knavish bookseller above sixty years afterwards entered on the Stationers' books as the production of Philip Massinger. See p. 281, n. 5.

² Q. — of *Candia*.

³ Tasso's *Melancholy*. "I rather spited than pitied him, (says old Montagne,) when I saw him at Ferrara, in so piteous a plight, that he survived himselfe, mis-acknowledging both himselfe and his labours, which, unwitting to him and even to his face, have been published both uncorrected and maimed." Florio's translation, 1603.

⁴ Probably Peele's play, entitled *Mahomet and Hiren, the fair Greek*. See Vol. XII. p. 90, n. 9.

⁵ *Palamon and Arcite*. On this old play *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was probably founded.

R.	the	24 of september 1594, at	l.	s.	d.
		<i>Venesyon and the love of</i> <i>and [an] Ingleshe lady,</i> [1]	O.	xxxxvii.	O.
—		30 of september, 1594, at <i>doctor ffofstoffe,</i> ⁶ [24]	iii.	xii.	O.
—		4 of october 1594, at <i>the love</i> <i>of a gresyan lady,</i> [12]	O.	xxvi.	O.
—		18 of october, 1594, at <i>the</i> <i>frenshe docter,</i> [11]	O.	xxii.	O.
—		22 of october 1594, at <i>a</i> <i>knacke to know a nonefte,</i> ⁷ [19]	O.	xxxx.	O.
—		8 of november, 1594, at <i>ceser and pompie,</i> ⁸ [8]	iii.	ii.	O.
—		16 of november, 1594, at <i>deoclesyan,</i> [2] -	O.	xxxixiii.	O.
—		30 of november 1594, at <i>warlam chester,</i> [7]	O.	xxxviii.	O.
—		2 of desember 1594, at <i>the</i> <i>wife men of chester,</i> [20]	O.	xxviii.	O.
—		14 of desember 1594, at <i>the</i> <i>mawe,</i> ⁹ [4] -	O.	xxxixiii.	O.
—		19 of desember 1594, at <i>the</i> <i>2 pte of tamberlen,</i> [11]	O.	xxxxvi.	O.
—		26 of desember 1594, at <i>the</i> <i>sege of london,</i> [12] -	iii.	iii.	O.

⁶ *Dr. Faustus*, by Christopher Marlowe.

⁷ *A Knack to know an Honest Man*. This play was printed in 1596.

⁸ Stephen Gosson mentions a play entitled *The History of Cæsar and Pompey*, which was acted before 1580.

⁹ The *maw* was a game at cards. The play is afterwards called *The seut [suit] at mawe*.

R. the 11 of febreary 1594, at the <i>frenshe comedey</i> , [6]	l.	s.	d.
— 14 of febreary 1594, at <i>long mege of westmester</i> , [18]	0.	l.	0.
— 21 of febreary 1594, at the <i>macke</i> , ¹ [1]	iii.	ix.	0.
— 5 of marche 1594, at <i>seleo & olempo</i> , ² [7]	iii.	0.	0.
— 7 of maye 1595, at the <i>first pte of Herculous</i> , ³ [10]	iii.	xiii.	0.
— 23 of maye 1595, at the 2 <i>p. of Hercolaus</i> , [8]	iii.	x.	0.
— 3 of June 1595, at the <i>vii dayes of the weeke</i> , [19]	iii.	0.	0.
— 18 of June 1595, at the 2 <i>pte of sefore</i> , (Cæsar) ⁴ [2]	0.	lv.	0.
— 20 of June 1595, at <i>antony & vallea</i> , ⁵ [3]	0.	xx.	0.
— 29 of august 1595, at <i>longe- shanche</i> , ⁶ [14]	0.	xxxx.	0.
— 5 of september 1595, at <i>cracke mee this notte</i> , [16]	iii.	0.	0.
— 17 of september 1595, at <i>the worldes tragedy</i> , [11]	iii.	v.	0.

¹ This also was a game at cards.

² *Seleo* is afterwards written *Selyo*, and the play is in a subsequent entry called *Olempo* and *Hengengs*.

³ *Hercules*, written by Martin Slaughter.

⁴ Probably on the subject of Shakspeare's play.

⁵ This piece was entered in the Stationers' books by Humphrey Moseley, June 29, 1660, as the production of Philip Massinger.

⁶ Probably Peele's play, entitled *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward I. surnamed Edward Long-shankes*, printed in 1593.

R. the 2 of october 1595, at <i>the</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>desgyfes</i> , [6] -	O.	xxxxiii.	O.
— 15 of october 1595, at <i>the</i>			
<i>wonder of a woman</i> , [10]	O.	liii.	O.
— 29 of october 1595, at <i>bar-</i>			
<i>nardo & fiamata</i> , [7]			
— 14 of november 1595, at <i>a</i>			
<i>toye to please my ladye</i> , ⁷			
[7]			
— 28 of november 1595, at			
<i>harry the v.</i> ⁸ [13] -	iii.	vi.	O.
— 29 of november 1595, at <i>the</i>			
<i>welsheman</i> , [1] -	O.	vii.	O.
— 3 of Jenewary, 1595, at			
<i>chinon of England</i> , [11]	O.	l.	O.
— 15 of Jenewary 1595, at <i>pe-</i>			
<i>thagerus</i> , ⁹ [13] -	O.	xviii.	O.
— 3 of febreary 1595, at the 1			
<i>p. of Forteunatus</i> , ¹ [7]	iii.	O.	O.
— 12 of febreary 1595, at <i>the</i>			
<i>blind beger of Alexan-</i>			
<i>dria</i> , ² [13] -	iii.	O.	O.
— 29 of aprill 1596, at <i>Julian</i>			
<i>the apostata</i> , [3] -	O.	xxxvii.	O.
— 19 of maye 1596, at <i>the</i>			
<i>tragedie of ffocasse</i> , ³ [7]	O.	xxxv.	O.

⁷ Afterwards called *A Toy to please chaste Ladies*.

⁸ I suppose, the play entitled *The Famous Victories of King Henry V. containing the Honourable Battel of Agincourt, 1598*; in which may be found the rude outlines of our poet's two parts of *King Henry IV.* and *King Henry V.*

⁹ *Pythagoras*, written by Martin Slaughter.

¹ By Thomas Dekker. This play is printed.

² By George Chapman. Printed in 1598.

³ *Phocas*, by Martin Slaughter.

R. the 22 of June 1596, at <i>Troye</i> ,	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
[4] - - -	iii.	0.	0.
— 1 of July 1596, at <i>paradox</i> ,			
[1] - - -	0.	xxxxv.	0.
— 18 of July 1596, at <i>thetinker</i>			
<i>of totnes</i> , - - -	iii.	0.	0.

“ *In the name of God, Amen, beginning one [on] Simon and Jewds day, my lord admeralles men, as followeth ; 1596.*

[Here twenty plays are set down as having been performed between October 27, and November 15, 1596 : but their titles have all been already given.]

“ *In the name of God, Amen, beginnige the 25 of november 1596, as followeth, the lord admerall players :*

R. the 4 of defember 1596, at	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Valteger</i> , [12] -	0.	xxxv.	0.
— 11 of defember 1596, at			
<i>Stewkley</i> , ⁴ [11] -	0.	xxxx.	0.
— 19 of defember 1596, at			
<i>nebucadonizer</i> , [8] -	0.	xxx.	0.
— 30 of defember 1596, at			
<i>what will be shall be</i> , [12] -	0.	l.	0.
— 14 of Jenewary, 1597, at			
<i>alexander & lodwicke</i> ,			
[15] - - -	0.	lv.	0.

⁴ This play was printed in black letter in 1605.

R.	the 27 of Jenewary 1597, at	l.	s.	d.
	woman hard to please,			
	[12] - - -	6.	7.	8.
—	5 of febreary, 1597, at Ose-			
	ryck, [2] - - -	3.	2.	1.
—	19 of marche 1597, at guido,			
	[5] ⁵ - - -	-	-	-
—	7 of aprill, 1597, at v plays			
	in one, [10] - - -	-	-	-
—	13 of aprill, 1597, at times			
	triumph and foztus, [1] - - -	-	-	-
—	29 of aprill 1597, at Uter			
	pendragon, [5] - - -	-	-	-
—	11 of maye 1597, at the			
	comedy of umers, (hu-			
	mours) ⁶ [11] - - -	-	-	-
—	26 of maye 1597, at harey			
	the fiste life and death, ⁷			
	[6] - - -	-	-	-
—	3 of June 1597, at freder-			
	ycke and basellers, ⁸ [4] - - -	-	-	-
—	22 of June 1597, at Henges,			
	[1] - - -	-	-	-

⁵ The fums received by Mr. Henflowe from this place are ranged in five columns, in such a manner as to furnish no precise information.

⁶ Perhaps Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*. It will appear hereafter that he had money dealings with Mr. Henflowe, the manager of this theatre, and that he wrote for him. The play might have been afterwards purchased from this company by the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, by whom it was acted in 1598.

⁷ This could not have been the play already mentioned, because in that Henry does not die; nor could it have been Shakspeare's play.

⁸ Afterwards written—*Baselia*.

R. the 30 of June 1597, at *life and death of Martin Swarte,*

[3] - - - - -

— 14 of July 1597, at *the wiche*
[*witch*] of *Islyngton*,⁹[2] - - -

“ *In the name of God, Amen, the 11 of october, beganne my lord admeralls and my lord of pem-brokes men to playe at my howse, 1597 :*

October 11. at *Jeronymo,* - - -

12. at *the comedy of umers,* - - -

16. at *doctor fostes,* - - -

19. at *hardacnute,* - - -

31. at *friar spendleton,* - - -

November 2. at *Bourbon,*” - - -

The following curious paper furnishes us with more accurate knowledge of the properties, &c. of a theatre in Shakspeare's time, than the researches of the most industrious antiquary could have attained :

“ *The booke of the Inventory of the goods of my Lord Admeralles men, taken the 10 of Marche in the yeare 1598.*

Gone and losse.

Item, j orange taney fatten dublet, layd thicke with gowld lace.

Item, j blew tafetie sewt.

Item, j payr of carnatyon fatten Venesfyons, layd with gold lace.

⁹ This piece was performed a second time on the 28th of July, when this account was closed.

- Item, j longe-shanckes sewte.*
- Item, j Sponnes dublet pyncket.*
- Item, j Spanerds gyrcken.*
- Item, Harey the fyftes dublet.*
- Item, Harey the fyftes vellet gowne.*
- Item, j fryers gowne.*
- Item, j lyttell dublet for boye.*

“ The Enventary of the Clownes Sewtes and Hermetes Sewtes, with dievers other sewtes, as followeth, 1598, the 10 of March.

- Item, j fenetores gowne, j hoode, and 5 fenetores capes.*
- Item, j sewtte for Nepton; Fierdrackes sewtes for Dobe.*
- Item, iiij genefareyes gownes, and iiij torchberers sewtes.*
- Item, iij payer of red strasers, [stroffers] and iij fares gowne of buckrome.*
- Item, iiij Herwodes cottres, and iij fogers cottres, and j green gown for Maryan.*
- Item, vj grene cottres for Roben Hoode, and iiij knaves sewtes.*
- Item, ij payer of grene hofse, and Anderfones sewte. j whitt shepen clocke.*
- Item, ij roffet cottres, and j black frese cotte, and iij prestes cottres.*
- Item, ij whitt sheperdes cottres, and ij Danes sewtes, and j payer of Danes hofse.*
- Item, The Mores lymes,¹ and Hercolles lymes, and Will. Sommers sewtte.*

¹ I suspect that these were the limbs of *Aaron* the moor in *Titus Andronicus*, who in the original play was probably tortured

- Item*, ij Orlates fewtes, hates and gorgetts, and vij anteckes cootes.
- Item*, Cathemer fewte, j payer of cloth whitte stockens, iiij Turckes hedes.
- Item*, iiij freyers gownes and iiij hoodes to them, and j fooles coate, cape, and babell, and branhowlttes bodeys, [bodice] and merlen [Merlin's] gowne and cape.
- Item*, ij black faye gownes, and ij cotton gownes, and j rede faye gowne.
- Item*, j mawe gowne of callico for the quene,² j carnowll [cardinal's] hatte.
- Item*, j red fewt of cloth for pyge, [Psyche] layed with whitt lace.
- Item*, v payer of hofse for the clowne, and v gerkenes for them.
- Item*, iiij payer of canvas hofse for afane, ij payer of black strocers.
- Item*, j yellow leather dublett for a clowne, j Whittcomes dublett poke.
- Item*, Eves bodeyes, [bodice] j pedante truffer, and iiij donnes hattes.
- Item*, j payer of yelow cotton fleves, j gostes fewt, and j gostes bodeyes.
- Item*, xviiij copes and hattes, Verones fonnes hofse.
- Item*, iiij trumpettes and a drum, and a trebel viall, a basse viall, a bandore, a fytteren, j anshente, [ancient] j whitt hatte.

on the stage. This ancient exhibition was so much approved of by Ravenscroft, that he introduced it in his play.—In *The Battle of Alcazar* there is also a Moor, whose dead body is brought on the stage, but not in a dislocated state.

² In the play called *Maw*.

Item, j hatte for Robin Hoode, j hobihorſe.

Item, v ſherthes, and j ſerpelowes, [ſurplice] iiij
ferdingalles.

Item, vj head-tiers, j fane, [fan] iiij rebatos, ij
gyrketruſes.

Item, j longe forde.

“ *The Enventary of all the aparell for my Lord
Admiralles men, taken the 10 of marche 1598.
—Leaft above in the tier-houſe in the cheaſt.*

Item, My Lord Caffes [Caiphaſ'] gercken, &
his hooſſe.

Item, j payer of hoſſe for the Dowlfen [Dau-
phin].

Item, j murey lether gyrcken, & j white lether
gercken.

Item, j black lether gearken, & Nabefathe ſewte.

Item, j payer of hoſſe, & a gercken for Val-
teger.

Item, ij leather anteckes cotties with baſſes, for
Fayeton [Phæton].

Item, j payer of bodeyes for Alles [Alice] Pearce.

“ *The Enventary taken of all the properties for my
Lord Admeralles men, the 10 of Marche, 1598.*

Item, j rocke, j cage, j tombe, j Hell mought
[Hell mouth].³

³ — one Hell-mouth.] If the reader wiſhes to know how
this article of ſcenery was repreſented, he may conſult two views
of it among the *Ectypa Varia* &c. ære olim inſculpta, ſtudio
& cura Thomæ Hearne &c. 1737, viz. *Adam moritur et tranſit
ad INFERNUM pro uno pomo*: and *Jeſus Chriſtus reſurgens a
mortuis ſpoliat INFERNUM*.

See alſo note on *Macbeth*, Act I. ſc. iii. STEEVENS.

Item, j tome of Guido, j tome of Dido, j bed-
steade.

Item, viij lances, j payer of stayers for Fayeton.

Item, ij stepells, & j chyme of belles, & j bea-
con.

Item, j hecfor for the playe of Faeton, the limes
dead.

Item, j globe, & j golden sceptor; iij clobes
[clubs.]

Item, ij marchepanes, & the fittie of Rome.

Item, j gowlden flece; ij rackets; j baye tree.

Item, j wooden hatchett; j lether hatchete.

Item, j wooden canepie; owld Mahemetes head.

Item, j lyone skin; j beares skyne; & Faetones
lymes, & Faeton charete; & Argosse
[Argus's] heade.

Item, Nepun [Neptun's] forcke & garland.

Item, j crosers stafe; Kentes woden leage [leg].

Item, Ieroffes [Iris's] head, and raynbowe; j lit-
tell alter.

Item, viij viserdes; Tamberlyne brydell; j wooden
matook.

Item, Cupedes bowe, and quiver; the clothe of
the Sone and Mone.⁴

Item, j bores heade & Serberosse [Cerberus] iij
heades.

Item, j Cadeseus; ij mose [moss] banckes, & j
snake.

Item, ij fanes of feathers; Belendon stable; j tree
of gowlden apelles; Tanelouse tre; jx
eyorn [iron] targates.

⁴ Here we have the only attempt which this Inventory fur-
nishes of any thing like scenery, and it was undoubtedly the
ne plus ultra of those days. To exhibit a sun or moon, the art
of perspective was not necessary.

Item, j copper targate, & xvij foyles.

Item, iiij wooden targates; j greve armer.

Item, j fyne [sign] for Mother Readcap; j buckler.

Item, Mercures wings; Taffo pieter; j helmet with a dragon; j shelde, with iij lyones; j elme bowle.

Item, j chayne of dragons; j gylte speare.

Item, ij coffenes; j bulles head; and j vylter.

Item, iij tymbrells; j dragon in foftes [Faustus].

Item, j lyone; ij lyon heades; j great horfe with his leages [legs]; j fack-bute.

Item, j whell and frame in the Sege of London.

Item, j paire of rowghte gloves.

Item, j poores miter.

Item, iij Imperial crownes; j playne crowne.

Item, j goftes crown; j crown with a fone.

Item, j frame for the heading in Black Jone.

Item, j black dogge.

Item, j cauderm for the Jewe.⁵

“ *The Enventorey of all the aparell of the Lord Admeralles men, taken the 13th of Marche 1598, as followeth :*

Item, j payer of whitte faten Venefons cut with coper lace.

Item, j ash collar fatten doublett, lacyd with gold lace.

Item, j peche collar fatten doublett.

Item, j owld whitte fatten dublette.

Item, j bleu tafitie sewtte.

Item, j Mores cotte.

⁵ *The Jew of Malta.*

- Item*, Pyges [Pſyches] damask gowne.
Item, j black fatten cotte.
Item, j harcoller tafitie ſewte of pygges.
Item, j white tafitie ſewte of pygges.
Item, Vartemar ſewtte.
Item, j great pechcoller dublet, with ſylver lace.
Item, j white fatten dublet pynckte
Item, j owld white fatten dublet pynckte.
Item, j payer of fatten Venefyan fatten ymbra-
 dered.
Item, j payer of French hoſſe, cloth of gowld.
Item, j payer of cloth of gowld hoſſe with ſylver
 paines.
Item, j payer of cloth of ſylver hoſſe with fatten
 and ſylver panes.
Item, Tamberlynnes cotte, with coper lace.
Item, j read clock with white coper lace.
Item, j read clocke with read coper lace.
Item, j ſhorte clocke of taney fatten with fleves.
Item, j ſhorte clocke of black fatten with fleves.
Item, Labefyas clocke, with gowld buttenes.
Item, j payer of read cloth hoſſe of Venefyans,
 with ſylver lace of coper.
Item, Valteger robe of rich tafitie.
Item, Junoes cotte.
Item, j hode for the wech [witch].
Item, j read ſtamel clocke with whitte coper
 lace.
Item, j read ſtamel clocke with read coper lace.
Item, j cloth clocke of ruſſete with coper lace,
 called Guydoes clocke.
Item, j ſhort clocke of black velvet, with fleves
 faced with ſhagg.
Item, j ſhort clocke of black vellet, faced with
 white fore [fur].
Item, j manes gown, faced with whitte fore.
Item, Dobes cotte of cloth of ſylver.

- Item*, j payer of pechecoler Venesyones uncut,
with read coper lace.
- Item*, j read scarllet clocke with fylver buttones.
- Item*, j longe black velvet clock, layd with brod
lace black.
- Item*, j black fatten sewtte.
- Item*, j blacke velvet clocke, layd with twyft lace
blacke.
- Item*, Perowes sewt, which W^m. Sley were.
- Item*, j payer of pechcoler hofse with fylver corl-
led panes.
- Item*, j payer of black cloth of fylver hofse,
drawne owt with tufed tafittie.
- Item*, Tamberlanes breches, of crymson vellyet.
- Item*, j payer of fylk howse with panes of fylver
corlled lace.
- Item*, j Faeytone sewte.
- Item*, Roben Hoodes sewtte.
- Item*, j payer of cloth of gowld hofe with gowld
corlle panes.
- Item*, j payer of rowne hofse buffe with gowld
lace.
- Item*, j payer of mows [moufe] collar Venesyans
with R. brode gowld lace.
- Item*, j flame collarde dublet pynked.
- Item*, j blacke fatten dublet, layd thyck with
blacke and gowld lace.
- Item*, j carnacyon dubled cutt, layd with gowld
lace.
- Item*, j white fatten dublet, faced with read
tafetie.
- Item*, j grene gyrcken with fylver lace.
- Item*, j black gyrcken with fylver lace.
- Item*, j read gyrcken with fylver lace.
- Item*, j read Spanes [Spanish] dublett styched.

- Item*, j peche collar fatten casse.
Item, Tasoës robe.
Item, j murey robe with fleves.
Item, j blewe robe with fleves.
Item, j oren taney [orange tawney] robe with fleves.
Item, j pech collerd hallf robe.
Item, j lane [long] robe with spangells.
Item, j white & orange taney scarf, spangled.
Item, Dides [Dido's] robe.
Item, iij payer of baffes.
Item, j white tafitie sherte with gowld frence.
Item, the fryers trusse in Roben Hoode.
Item, j littell gacket for Pygge [Psyche].
Item, j womanes gown of cloth of gowld.
Item, j orange taney vellet gowe [gown] with sylver lace, for women.
Item, j black velvet gowne ymbradered with gowld lace.
Item, j yelowé fatten gowne ymbradered with fylk & gowld lace, for women.
Item, j greve armer.
Item, Harye the v. velvet gowne.
Item, j payer of crymson fatten Venysfiones, layd with gowld lace.
Item, j blew tafitie sewte, layd with sylver lace.
Item, j Longeshankes seute.
Item, j orange collar fatten dublett, layd with gowld lace.
Item, Harye the v. fatten dublet, layd with gowld lace.
Item, j Spanes casse dublet of crymson pyncked.
Item, j Spanes gearcken layd with sylver lace.
Item, j wattshode [watchet] tafitie dublet for a boye.

Item, ij payer of baffes, j whitte, j blewe, of
safnet.

Item, j freyers gowne of graye.

*A Note of all suche bookes as belong to the Stocke,
and such as I have bought since the 3d of March,
1598.*

Black Jonne.	Woman will have her will.
The Umers.	Welchmans price.
Hardicanewtes.	King Arthur, life and death.
Borbonne.	1 p ^t of Hercules.
Sturgflaterey.	2 p ^{te} of Hercoles.
Brunhowlle.	Pethagores.
Cobler quen hive.	Focasse.
Frier Pendelton.	Elexfander and Lodwicke.
Alls Perce.	Blacke Battman.
Read Cappe.	2 p. black Battman.
Roben Hode, 1.	2 p ^t of Goodwine.
Roben Hode, 2.	Mad mans morris.
Phaeyton.	Perce of Winchester.
Treangell cockowlls.	Vayvode.
Goodwine.	

*A Note of all suche goodes as I have bought for the
Companey of my Lord Admiralls men, sence the
3 of Aprell, 1598, as followeth:*

	£.	s.	d.
Bowght a damaske casock garded with velvett, - - -	}	0	18 0.
Bowght a payer of paned rownd hofse of cloth whiped with sylk, drawne out with tafitie, - - -			
Bowght j payer of long black wollen stockens, - - -			

Bowght j black fatten dublett	-	}	4 15 0.
Bowght j payer of rownd howffe paned of vellevet	- - -		
Bowght a robe for to goo invifibell	-	}	3 10 0.
Bowght a gown for Nembia	-		
Bowght a dublett of whitt fatten layd thicke with gowld lace, and a payer of rowne pandes hofse of cloth of fylver, the panes layd with gowld lace.		}	7 0 0.
Bowght of my sonne v fewtes			20 0 0.
Bowght of my sonne iiij fewtes			17 0 0.

In the folio manuscript already mentioned I have found notices of the following plays and their severall authors :

Oct. 1597. *The Cobler.*

Dec. 1597. *Mother Redcap*, by Anthony Mundy,⁶
Jan. and Michael Drayton.

1597-8. *Dido and Æneas.*

Phaeton, by Thomas Dekker.⁷

⁶ "The best for comedy amongst us bee, Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Maister Rowleye, once a rare scholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwardes, one of her Majesties chappell, eloquent and witty John Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakspeare, Thomas Nashe, Anthony Mundaye our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilfon, Hathway, and Henry Chettle." *Wits Treasury, being the Second Part of Wits Common Wealth*, by Francis Meres, 1598, p. 283. The latter writer, Henry Chettle, is the person whose testimony with respect to our poet's merit as an actor has been already produced. Chettle, it appears, wrote singly, or in conjunction with others, not less than thirty plays, of which one only (*Hoffman's Tragedy*) is now extant.

⁷ In the following month I find this entry :

"Lent unto the company, the 4 of Febreary 1598, to discharge Mr. Dicker owt of the cownter in the powltre, the some of fortie shillings, I say dd [delivered] to Thomas Downton, xxxxs."

- The World runs upon Wheels*, by G. Chapman.
- Feb. 1577-8. *The first part of Robin Hood*, by Anthony Mundy.⁸
- The second part of the downfall of earl Huntington, surnamed Robinhood*, by Anthony Mundy, and Henry Chettle.
- A woman will have her will*,⁹ by William Haughton.¹
- The Miller*, by Robert Lee.
- "A booke wherein is a part of a Welchman,"* by Michael Drayton and Henry Chettle.²
- Mar. 1598. *The Triplicity of Cuckolds*, by Thomas Dekker.
- The Famous Wars of Henry the First and the Prince of Wales*, by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker.³

⁸ In a subsequent page is the following entry: "Lent unto Robarte Shawe, the 18 of Novemb. 1598, to lend unto Mr. Cheattle, upon the mending of *the first part of Robert Hoode*, the sum of xs."

And afterwards—"For mending of *Robin Hood* for the corte."

This piece and its second part have hitherto, on the authority of Kirkman, been falsely ascribed to Thomas Heywood.

⁹ Printed in 1616, under the title of *Englishmen for my Money, or a Woman will have her Will*.

¹ The only notice of this poet that I have met with, except what is contained in these sheets, is the following: "Lent unto Robert Shawe, the 10 of Marche, 1599, [1600] to lend Mr. Haughton out of *the clynke*, the some of xs."

² Perhaps *The Valiant Welchman*, printed in 1615.

³ There was a play on this subject written by R. Davenport, and acted by the king's company in 1624: as appears by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript. Perhaps it was only the old play new modelled. It was afterwards (1660) entered on the Stationers' books by a knavish bookseller and ascribed to Shakespeare. Subjoined to the account of this play is the following

*Earl Goodwin and his three sons,*⁴ by Michael Drayton, Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, and Robert Wilfon.

The second part of Goodwin, &c. by Michael Drayton.

*Pierce of Exton,*⁴ by the same four authors.

April 1598. *The Life of Arthur king of England,* by Richard Hathwaye.

The first part of Black Batman of the North, by Henry Chettle.

The second part of Black Batman, by Henry Chettle, and Robert Wilfon.

May 1598. *The first part of Hercules,*
The second part of Hercules,
Phocas,
Pythagoras,
*Alexander and Lodowick,*⁶
Love Prevented, by Henry Porter.

} by Martin Slaughter.

article: "Lent at that time unto the company, for to spend at the reading of that booke at the sonne [Sun] in new Fish Street, vs."

⁴ "Lent unto Thomas Dowton the 11 of Aprill 1598, to byc tafitie to macke a rochet for the bishoppe in earle Goodwine, xxiijs."

⁵ I suppose a play on the subject of *King Richard II.*

⁶ "Lent unto the company, the 16 of Maye, 1598, to buye v bookes of Martin Slather, called 2 ptes of Hercolus, & focas, & pethagores, and alyxander and lodieck, which last boocke he hath not yet delyvered, the some of vii li." He afterward received 20s. more on delivering the play last named.—He was a player, and one of the Lord Admiral's Servants.

These plays, we have already seen, had been acted some years before. It appears from various entries in this book, that the price of an old play, when transferred from one theatre to another, was two pounds.

- The funeral of Richard Cordelion*, by Robert Wilfon, Henry Chettle, Anthony Mundy, and Michael Drayton.
- June 1598. *The Will of a Woman*, by George Chapman.
- The Mad Man's Morris*, by Robert Wilfon, Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker.
- Hannibal and Hermes*, by Robert Wilfon, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.
- July 1598. *Valentine and Orson*, by Richard Hathwaye, and Anthony Mundy.
- Pierce of Winchester*, by Thos. Dekker, Robert Wilfon, and Michael Drayton.
- The Play of a Woman*, by Henry Chettle.
- The Conquest of Brute, with the first finding of the Bath*, by John Daye, Henry Chettle, and John Singer.⁷
- Aug. 1598. *Hot Anger soon cold*, by Henry Porter, Henry Chettle, and Benjamin Jonson.
- William Longsword*, by Michael Drayton.
- Chance Medly*, by Robert Wilfon, Anthony Mundy, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.
- Catilines Conspiracy*, by Robert Wilfon, and Henry Chettle.
- Vayvoode*, by Thomas Downton.

⁷ I find in a subsequent page, "Lent unto Sam. Rowley, the 12 of Desember, 1598, to bye divers thinges for to macke cottes for gyants in Brute, the some of xxs."

- Worse afear'd than hurt*, by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker.
- Sept. 1598. *The First Civil Wars in France*, by the same authors.
- The Second Part of the Civil Wars in France*, by the same.
- The Third Part of the Civil Wars in France*, by the same.
- The Fountain of new Fashions*, by George Chapman.
- Mulmutius Donwallow*, by William Rankins.
- Connan, Prince of Cornwall*, by Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.
- Nov. 1598. *'Tis no deceit to deceive the deceiver*, by Henry Chettle.
- Dec. 1598. *War without blows and Love without suit*, by Thomas Heywood. In a subsequent entry "—— Love without strife."
- The Second Part of the Two Angry Women of Abington*, by Henry Porter.
- Feb. 1598-9. *Joan as good as my lady*, by Thos. Heywood.^s

^s Thomas Heywood had written for the stage in 1596, for in another page I find—"Octob. 14, 1596. Lent unto them [the Lord Admiral's Servants] for Hawodes booke, xxxs." From another entry in the same page it appears that *Fletcher* wrote for the stage so early as in the year 1596. "Octob. 14, 1596. Lent unto Martyne, [Martin Slaughter] to fetch *Fletcher*, vis." Again, *ibidem* : "Gave the company to give *Fletcher*, and the have promised me payment,—xxs."—Heywood was in the year 1598 *an hireling*, by which name all the players who were not *sharers*, were denominated. They received a certain sum by the week. In Mr. Henslowe's book the following article occurs :

Friar Fox and Gillian of Brentford, by
Thos. Downton, and Samuel Redly.
Æneas' Revenge, with the tragedy of
Polyphemus, by Henry Chettle.

“ Memorandum, that this 25 of Marche, 1598, Thomas Hawoode came and hiered him sealse with me as a convenanted servante for ij yeares, by the receveing of ij syngell pence, according to the statute of Wincheſter, and to beginne at the daye above written, and not to playe any wher publicke abowt lundon, not whille theſe ij yeares be expired, but in my howſe. Yf he do, then he doth forfeit unto me by the receving of the ii d. fortie powndes. And witneſſ to this, Anthony Monday, William Borne, Gabriel Spencer, Thomas Dowton, Robert Shawe, Richard Jones, Richard Alleyn.”

William Borne, *alias* Bird, a dramatick poet, whoſe name frequently occurs in this manuſcript, was likewiſe *an hireling*, as is aſcertained by a memorandum, worth tranſcribing on another account :

“ Memorandum, that the 10 of auguſt, 1597, Wm. Borne came and ofered him ſeaſe to come and play with my lord admiralles men at my houſe called by the name of the Roſe, ſetewate one [on] the banck, after this order followinge. He hath received of me ijd. upon and [an] aſſumſett to forfeit unto me a hundreth marckes, of lafull money of England, yf he do not performe theſe thinges following ; that is, preſentley after libertie beinge granted for playinge, to come & to playe with my lorde admiralles men at my howſſe aforeſayd, & not in any other howſſe publick abowt london, for the ſpace of iij yeares beinge immediatly after this reſtraynt is receiled by the lordes counſell, which reſtraynt is by the menes of playinge *the Jeyle of Dooges*, [Iſle of Dogs]. Yf he do not, then he forfeits this aſſumpſet afore, or ells not. Witneſſ to this E. Alleyn & Robſone.”

This ſtipend of an hireling is aſcertained by the following memorandum :

“ Memorandum, that the 17 of Jewley 1597, I heayred Thomas Hearne with ij pence for to ſerve me ij yeares in the qualetie of playenge, for *five ſhillinges* a weeck for one yeare, and vii d. for the other yere, which he hath convenanted him ſeaſe to ſerve me, & not to depart from my company till theſe ij yeares is ended. Witneſſ to this, John Synger, James Donſton, Thomas Towne.

- The two Merry Women of Abington,*⁹
by Henry Porter.
- The Four Kings.*
- March *The Spencers*, by Henry Porter.
- 1598-9. *Orestes' furies*, by Thomas Dekker.
- June *Agamemnon*, by Henry Chettle and
1599. Thomas Dekker.
- The Gentle Craft*, by Thomas Dekker.
- Bear a brain*, by Thomas Dekker.
- Aug. *The Poor man's Paradise*, by Wm.
1599. Haughton.
- The Stepmother's Tragedy*, by Henry
Chettle.
- The lamentable tragedy of Peg of Ply-
mouth*, by Wm. Bird, Thos. Down-
ton, and Wm. Jubey.
- Nov. *The Tragedy of John Cox of Colmiston*,
1599. by Wm. Haughton, and John Day.
- The second part of Henry Richmond*, by
Robert Wilfon.¹
- The tragedy of Thomas Merry*, by
William Haughton, and John Day.
- Dec. *Patient Griffell*, by Thomas Dekker,
1599. Henry Chettle, and William Haugh-
ton.

⁹ The note relative to this play is worth preserving. "Lent unto Harey Porter, at the request of the company, in earnest of his booke called ij merey wemen of abington, the some of forty shellengs, and for the resayte of that money he gave me his faythfull promise that I should have alle his bookes which he writte ether him felse or with any other, which some was dd. [delivered] the 28th of febreary, 1598."—The spelling of the word—*receipt* here shews how words of that kind were pronounced in our author's age, and confirms my note in Vol. X. p. 20, n. 3. [i. e. Article *Venus and Adonis* in Mr. Malone's edit. 1790.]

¹ For this piece the poet received eight pounds. The common price was six pounds.

- The Arcadian Virgin*, by Henry Chettle, and William Haughton.
- Jan. 1599-1600. *Owen Tudor*, by Michael Drayton, Richard Hathwaye, Anthony Mundy, and Rt. Wilfon.
- The Italian Tragedy*, by John Day.
- Jugurtha*, by William Boyle.
- Truth's Supplication to Candlelight*, by Tho. Dekker.
- The Spanish Morris*, by Thomas Dekker, Wm. Haughton, and John Day.
- Damon and Pythias*, by Henry Chettle.
- March 1599-1600. *The Seven Wise Masters*, by Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, William Haughton, and John Day.
- April 1600. *Ferrex and Porrex*,² by Wm. Haughton.
- The English Fugitives*, by the same.
- The golden Asps and Cupid and Psyche*, by Thomas Decker, John Daye, and Henry Chettle.
- The Wooing of Death*, by Henry Chettle.
- Alice Pierce*.
- Strange news out of Poland*, by William Haughton, and ——— Pett.
- The Blind Beggar of Bethnell Green*, by Henry Chettle, and John Day.
- June 1600. *The fair Constance of Rome*, by Anthony Mundy, Richard Hathwaye, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.

² Here and above, (see *Damon and Pythias*) we have additional instances of old plays being re-written. There was a dramattick piece by Lord Buckhurst and Thomas Norton, with the title of *Ferrex and Porrex*, printed in 1570. *Damon and Pythias*, by Richard Edwards, was printed in 1582.

- The second part of the fair Constance of Rome*, by the same.
- December 1600. *Robinhood's Penn'orth's*, by William Haughton.
Hannibal and Scipio, by Richard Hathwaye and William Rankins.
- Feb. 1600-1. *Scogan and Skelton*, by the same.
The Second Part of Thomas Strowde,³ by William Haughton, and John Day.⁴
- March *The conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt*, by Richard Hathwaye, ——— Hawkins, John Day, and Wm. Haughton,
All is not gold that glisters, by Samuel Rowley, and Henry Chettle.
- April 1601. *The Conquest of the West-Indies*, by Wentworth Smith, William Haughton, and John Day.
Sebastian king of Portugal, by Henry Chettle, and Thomas Dekker.
The Six Yeomen of the West, by William Haughton, and John Day.
The Third Part of Thomas Strowde, by Wm. Haughton, and John Day.
The honourable life of the humorous earl of Gloster, with his conquest of Portugal, by Anthony Wadeson.
- Aug. 12 *Cardinal Wolsey*,⁵ by Henry Chettle.

³ This play appears to have been sometimes called *Thomas Strowde*, and sometimes *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*. See the title-page of that play.

⁴ "Paid unto John Daye, at the apoyntment of the company, the 2 of maye 1601, after the playing of the 2 pte of Strowde, the some of xs."

⁵ "Layd out at the apoyntment of my sone and the company, unto harey chettle, for the alterynge of the booke of car-

- Aug. 12. *The proud woman of Antwerp*, by Wil-
1601. liam Haughton, and John Day.
The Second Part of Thomas Dough,
by John Day, and William Haughton.
Sept. 1601. *The Orphan's Tragedy*, by Henry
Chettle.
Nov. 12. *The Rising of Cardinal Wolfey*,⁶ by
1601. Anthony Mundy, Michael Drayton,
Henry Chettle, and Wentworth
Smith.
The Six Clothiers of the West, by Rich-
ard Hathwaye, Wentworth Smith,
and Wm. Haughton.
The Second Part of the Six Clothiers,
by the same.
Nov. *Too good to be true*, by Henry Chettle,
1601. Rich. Hathwaye, and Wentworth
Smith.
Jan. *Judas*, by William Haughton, Samuel
1601-2. Rowley,⁷ and William Borne.

nowlle Wollsey, the 28 of June, 1601, the some of xxs." I suspect, this play was not written originally by Chettle.

⁶ So called in one place ; in another *The First Part of Cardinal Wolfey*. It was not produced till some months after the play written or altered by Chettel. Thirty-eight pounds were expended in the dressees, &c. for Chettel's play ; of which sum twenty-five shillings were paid " for velvet and mackynge of the docters gowne." The two parts of *Cardinal Wolfey* were performed by the Earl of Worcester's servants.

⁷ This author was likewise a player, and in the same situation with Heywood, as appears from the following entry :

" Memorandum, that the 16 of november, 1598, I hired Charles Maffey and Samuel Rowley, for a year and as much as to fraftide, [Shrovetide] begenynge at the day above written, after the statute of Winchester, with ij singell pence ; and forther they have covenanted with me to playe in my howsse and in no other howsse (dewringe the time) publick but in mine :

- The Spanish Fig.*
 Apr. 1602. *Malcolm King of Scots*, by Charles Maffy.
 May 1602. *Love parts friendship*, by Henry Chettle, and Wentworth Smith.
The Second Part of Cardinal Wolsey,⁸ by Henry Chettle.
The Bristol Tragedy, by Day.⁹
Tobias, by Henry Chettle.
Jefttha, by Henry Chettle.
Two Harpies, by Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, Webster, and Mundy.
 July 1602. *A Danish Tragedy*, by Henry Chettle.
The Widow's Charm,¹ by Anthony Mundy.
A Medicine for a Curst Wife, by T. Dekker.
Sampson, by Samuel Rowley, and Edw. Juby.
 Sept. 1602. *William Cartwright*, by William Haughton.
Felmelanco, by Henry Chettle, and ——— Robinson.
Joshua, by Samuel Rowley.
 Oct. 1602. *Randall earl of Chester*, by T. Middleton.²

yf they do withowt my consent to forfitt unto me xxxxl^b. a pece.
 Witnefs Thomas Dowton, Robert Shawe, Edw. Jubey."

⁸ "Lent unto Thomas Downton, the 18th of may, [1602] to bye maskynge antycke fewts for the 2 parte of Carnowlle Wollsey, the some of iijlb. vs."—"27 of may, to bye Wm. Somers cotte, and other thinges, the some of iijlb."

⁹ Probably *The Fair Maid of Bristol*, printed in 1605.

¹ Perhaps the play afterwards called *The Puritan Widow*.

² Probably his play called *The Mayor of Queenborough*.

Nov. *As merry as may be*, [acted at court]
1602. by J. Daye, Wentworth Smith, and
R. Hathwaye.

Albeke Galles, by Thomas Heywood,
and Wentworth Smith.

Marshal Osrick, by Thomas Heywood,
and Wentworth Smith.

The Three Brothers, a tragedy, by
Wentworth Smith.

Lady Jane, by Henry Chettle, Thomas
Dekker, Thomas Heywood, Went-
worth Smith, and John Webster.

The Second Part of Lady Jane, by Tho-
mas Heywood, John Webster, Henry
Chettle, and Thomas Dekker.

Christmas comes but once a year, by T.
Dekker.

The Overthrow of Rebels.

The Black Dog of Newgate, by Richard
Hathwaye, John Day, Wentworth
Smith, and another poet.

The second part of the same, by the same.

The Blind eats many a fly, by T. Hey-
wood.

The Fortunate General, a French his-
tory, by Wentworth Smith, John
Day, and Richard Hathwaye.

Dec. *The Set at Tennis*, by Anthony Mundy.

1602. *The London Florentine*, by Thomas
Heywood, and Henry Chettle.

*The second part of the London Floren-
tine*, by Thomas Heywood, and
Henry Chettle.

The Tragedy of Hoffman,³ by Henry
Chettle.

³ This play was printed in 1631.

- Singer's Voluntary*, by John Singer.
The four sons of Amon, by Robert Shawe.
 Feb. *A woman kill'd with kindness*, by T.
 1602-3. Heywood.
 March *The Boast of Billingsgate*, by John Day,
 1602-3. and Richard Hathwaye.
The Siege of Dunkerk, by Charles
 Maffy.
The patient man and honest whore, by
 Thomas Dekker, and Thomas Mid-
 dleton.
The Italian Tragedy, by Wentworth
 Smith, and John Day.
Pontius Pilate.
Jane Shore, by Henry Chettle, and
 John Day.
Baxter's Tragedy.
-

The following notices, which I have reserved for this place, relate more immediately to our author. I have mentioned in a former page that I had not the smallest doubt that the name of Shakspeare, which is printed at length in the title-pages of *Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600, and *The London Prodigall*, 1605, was affixed to those pieces by a knavish bookseller without any foundation; and am now furnished with indubitable evidence on this subject; for under the year 1599 the following entry occurs in Mr. Henflowe's folio Manuscript:

“ The 16th of October, 99. Received by me Thomas Downton of Philip Henflowe, to pay Mr. Monday, Mr. Drayton, Mr. Wilson, and Hath-

way, for *The first part of the Lyfe of Sir Jhon Ouldcastell*, and in earnest of *the Second Pte*, for the use of the company, ten pound, I say received 10 lb.

“ Received [Nov. 1599] of Mr. Hinchelo for Mr. Munday and the reste of the poets, at the play-inge of *Sir John Oldcastell*, the firste tyme, xs. as a gifte.”

“ Received [Dec. 1599] of Mr. Henflowe, for the use of the company, to pay Mr. Drayton for the second parte of *Sir Jhon Ouldcastell*, foure pound, I say received *per me Thomas Downton*, iiij li.”⁴

We have here an indisputable proof of a fact which has been doubted, and can now pronounce with certainty that our poet was entirely careless about literary fame, and could patiently endure to be made answerable for compositions which were not his own, without using any means to undeceive the publick.

The bookseller for whom the first part of *Sir John Oldcastle* was printed, “ as it hath bene lately acted by the Right Honourable the earl of Nottingham Lord High Admirall of England his servants,” was *Thomas Pavier*, who however had the modesty to put only the initial letters of his christian and surname (T. P.) in the spurious title-page which he prefixed to it. In 1602, he entered the old copy of *Titus Andronicus* on the Stationers’ books, with an intention (no doubt) to affix the

⁴ That this second part of *Sir John Oldcastle* was performed on the stage, as well as the former, is ascertained by the following entry :

“ Dd. [delivered] unto the littel taylor, at the apoynement of Robert Shawe, the 12 of marche, 1599, [1600,] to macke thinges for the 2 pte of *owldcastell*, some of xxxs.”

name of Shakspeare to it, finding that our poet had made some additions to that piece.

To this person we are likewise indebted for the mistake which has so long prevailed,⁵ relative to the two old plays entitled *The First Part of the Contention between the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster*, and *The true tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, which were printed *anonymously* in 1600, as acted by the *earl of Pembroke's Servants*, and have erroneously been ascribed to our poet, in consequence of Pavier's reprinting them in the year 1619, and then for the first time fraudulently affixing Shakspeare's name to them. To those plays, as to *Oldcastle*, he put only the initial letters of his christian and surname. For him likewise *The Yorkshire Tragedy* was printed in the year 1608, and our poet's name affixed to it.

The Life and Death of Lord Cromwell, published in 1602, and ascribed to W. S. and *The Puritan Widow*, which was published in 1607, with the same initial letters, were probably written by *Wentworth Smith*, a dramattick writer whose name has so often occurred in the preceding pages, with perhaps the aid of Anthony Mundy, or some other of the same fraternity. *Locrine*, which was printed in 1595, as *newly set forth, overseen, and corrected by W. S.* was probably revised by the same person.

It is extremely probable from the register of dramattick pieces in a former page, that *Cardinal Wolsey* had been exhibited on the stage before our poet produced him in *K. Henry VIII.* To the list of plays written by Shakspeare upon subjects

⁵ See the *Dissertation on the Three Parts of King Henry VI* in Vol. XIV.

which had already been brought upon the scene,⁶ must also be added *Troilus and Cressida*, as appears from the following entries :

“ April 7. 1599. Lent unto Thomas Downton to lende unto Mr. Deckers, & harey cheattell, in earnest of ther boocke called *Troyeles & Cressedaye*, the some of iii lb.”

“ Lent unto harey cheattell, & Mr. Dickers, in pte of payment of their booke called *Troyelles & Cresseda*, the 16 of Aprell, 1599, xxs.”

I suspect the authors changed the name of this piece before it was produced, for in a subsequent page are the following entries :

“ Lent unto Mr. Deckers and Mr. Chettel the 26 of maye, 1599, in earnest of a booke called *Troylles and Creseda*, the sum of xxs.” In this entry a line is drawn through the words *Troylles and Creseda*, and “ *the tragedie of Agamemnon*” written over them.

“ Lent unto Robart Shawe, the 30 of maye 1599, in fulle payment of the boocke called *the tragedie of Agamemnon*, the sum of iii li. vs.—to Mr. Deckers, and harey Chettell.”

“ Paid unto the Master of the Revells man for lycensyng of a boocke called *the Tragedie of Agamemnon* the 3 of June, 1599, vii s.”

We have seen in the list of plays performed in 1593-4, by the servants of the earl of Suffex, the old play of *Titus Andronicus*, in which on its revival by the king's servants, our author was induced, for the advantage of his own theatre, to make some alterations, and to add a few lines. The old play of *K. Henry VI.* which was played with such success in 1591, he without doubt touched in the

⁶ See Vol. XIV. p. 262.

same manner, in consequence of which it appeared in his works under the title of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* How common this practice was, is proved by the following entries made by Mr. Henflowe ;

“ Lent unto the companye, the 17 of August, 1602, to pay unto Thomas Deckers, for new *adycions* to *Owldcastell*, the some of xxxxs.”

“ Lent unto John Thane, the 7 of september, 1602, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for his *adicions* in *Owldcastell*, the some of xs.”

“ Lent unto Samuel Rowley, the 14 of desember, 1600, to geve unto Thomas Deckers, for his paynes in *Fayeton*, [*Phaeton*] some of xs. For the corte.”

“ Lent unto Samuel Rowley, the 22 of desember, 1601, to geve unto Thomas Decker for *altering* of *Fayton* [*Phaeton*] for the corte, xxxs.”

“ Pd unto Thomas Deckers, at the apoyntment of the company, the 16 of janeuary 1601, towards the *altering* of *Taffo*, the some of xxs.”

“ Lent unto my sonne E. Alleyn, the 7 of november, 1602, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for *mending* of the play of *Taffo*, the some of xxxxs.”

“ Lent unto Mr. Birde, the 4 of desember, 1602, to paye unto Thomas Deckers, in pt of payment for *Taffo*, the sum of xxs.”

These two old playes of *Phaeton* and *Taffo's Melancholy*, we have seen in a former page, had been exhibited some years before.

“ Lent unto the company, the 22 of november, 1602, to paye unto William Birde, and Samuel Rowley, for ther *adycions* in *Docter Fostes*, the some of iiii lb.”

“ Pd. unto Thomas Hewode, the 20 of september, [1602] for the new *adycions* of *Cutting Dick*, the some of xxs.”

The following curious notices occur, relative to our poet's old antagonist, Ben Jonson; the last two of which furnish a proof of what I have just observed with respect to *Titus Andronicus*, and the First Part of *King Henry VI.*; and the last article ascertains that he had the audacity to write a play, after our author, on the subject of *K. Richard III.*

"Lent unto Bengemen Johnson, player, the 22 of July, 1597, in redy money, the some of fower poundes, to be payd yt again whensoever either I or my sonne [Edw. Alleyn] shall demand yt. I saye iiij lb.

"Witness E. Alleyn, & John Synger."

"Lent unto Bengemen Johnstone, the 3 of december, 1597, upon a booke which he was to writte for us before crysmas next after the date hereof, which he showed the plotte unto the company: I saye, lent in redy mony, unto hime the some of xxs."

"Lent Bengemyn Johnson, the 5 of Jenewary, 1597, [1597-8] in redy mony, the some of vs.

"Lent unto the company, the 18 of agust, 1598, to bye a boocke called *Hoate anger sone cowlde*, of Mr. Porter, Mr. Cheattell, & Bengemen Johnson, in full payment, the some of vi lb.

"Lent unto Robart Shawe, & Jewbey, the 23 of Octob. 1598, to lend unto Mr. Chapman, one [on] his playboocke, & ij actes of a tragedie of *Bengemen's* plott, the sum of iijlb.

"Lent unto Wm. Borne, *alias* Birde, the 10 of agust, 1599, to lend unto Bengemen Johnson and Thomas Dekker, in earnest of ther booke which they are writing, called *Pagge of Plim*,⁷ the some of xxxxs.

⁷ These three words are so blotted, that they can only be guessed at. I find in the next page—"Lent unto Mr. Birde,

“ Lent unto Thomas Downton, the 3 of september, 1599, to lend unto Thomas Deckers, Bengemen Johnson, Heary Cheattell, and other jentellmen, in earnest of a playe called *Robart the second hinge of Scottes tragedie*, the some of xxxxs.

“ Lent unto Wm. Borne, the 23 of september, 1599, to lend unto Bengemen Johnfone, in earnest of a boocke called *the scottes tragedie*, the some of xx s.

“ Lent unto Mr. Alleyn, the 25 of september, 1601, to lend unto Bengemen Johnson, upon his writing of his *adycians* in *Jeronymo*,⁸ xxxxs.

“ Lent unto Bengemy Johnfone, at the apoyntment of E. Alleyn, and Wm. Birde, the 22 of June, 1602, in earnest of a boocke called *Richard Crook-back*, and for new *adycions* for *Jeronimo*, the some of x lb.”

Thomas Downton, and William Jube, the 2 of September, 1599, to paye in full payment for a boocke called the lamentable tragedie of *Pegge of Plymouth*, the some of vilb.” which should seem to be the same play; but six pounds was the full price of a play, and the authors are different.—Bird, Downton, and Jubey, were all actors.

⁸ *The Spanish Tragedy*, written by Thomas Kyd, is meant, which was frequently called *Jeronymo*, though the former part of this play expressly bore that name. See the title-page to the edition of *The Spanish Tragedy* in 1610, where these new additions are particularly mentioned. Jonson himself alludes to them in his *Cynthia's Revels*, 1602: “Another swears down all that are about him, that the *old Hieronymo*, as it was *at first* acted, was the only best and judiciously penned play in Europe.”—Mr. Hawkins, when he republished this piece in 1773, printed most of Jonson's additions to it, at the bottom of the page, as “foisted in by the players.”

I insert the following letter, which has been lately found at Dulwich College, as a literary curiosity. It shows how very highly Alleyn the player was estimated. What the wager alluded to was, it is now impossible to ascertain. It probably was, that Alleyn would equal his predecessors Knell and Bently, in some part which they had performed, and in which his contemporary, George Peel, had likewise been admired.

“ Your answer the other night so well pleased the gentlemen, as I was satisfied therewith, though to the hazarde of the wager: and yet my meaning was not to prejudice *Peele's* credit, neither wolde it, though it pleased you so to excuse it. But beinge now growen farther in question, the partie affected to Bently scornynge to win the wager by your deniall, hath now given you libertie to make choyce of any one play that either Bently or Knell plaide; and least this advantage agree not with your mind, he is contented both the plaie and the tyme shal be referred to the gentlemen here present. I see not how you can any waie hurt your credit by this action: for if you excell them, you will then be famous; if equall them, you win both the wager and credit; if short of them, we must and will saie, NED ALLEN STILL.

“ Your friend to his power,

“ W. P.

“ Deny mee not, sweet Ned; the wager's downe,
 “ And twice as muche commaunde of me or myne;
 “ And if you wyne, I swear the half is thine,
 “ And for an overplus an English crowne:
 “ Appoint the tyme, and stint it as you pleas,
 “ Your labour's gaine, and that will prove it ease.”

The two following letters, which were found among Mr. Henflowe's papers, ascertain the low state of the dramatick poets in his time. From the former of them it should seem, that in a few years after the accession of James the First, the price of a play had considerably risen. Neither of them are dated, but I imagine they were written some time between the years 1612 and 1615.—Mr. Henflowe died about the 8th of January, 1615-16,

“ Mr. Hinchlow,

“ I have ever since I saw you kept my bed, being so lame that I cannot stand. I pray, Sir, goe forward with that reasonable bargayn for *The Bellman*. We will have *but twelve pounds, and the overplus of the second day* ; whereof I have had ten shillings, and desire but twenty shillings more, till you have three sheets of my papers. Good Sir, consider how for your sake I have put myself out of the assured way to get money, and from *twenty pounds* a play am come to *twelve*. Thearfor in my extremity forsake me not, as you shall ever command me. My wife can acquaint you how infinit great my occasion is, and this shall be sufficient for the receipt, till I come to set my hand to the booke.

“ Yours at comand,

“ ROBERT DABORNE.”

At the bottom of this letter Mr. Henflowe has written the following memorandum :

“ Lent Mr. Daborne upon this note, the 23 of agust, in earnest of a play called *The Bellman of London*, xx s.”

“ To our most loving friend,
Mr. Philip Hinchlow,
Esquire, These.

“ Mr. Hinchlow,

“ You understand our unfortunate extremitie, and I do not thincke you so void of christianitie but that you would throw so much money into the Thames as wee request now of you, rather then endanger so many innocent liues. You know there is x^l. more at least to be receaved of you for the play. We desire you to lend us v^l. of that ; which shall be allowed to you ; without which we cannot be bayled, nor I play any more till this be dispatch'd. It will lose you xx^l. ere the end of the next weeke, besides the hinderance of the next new play. Pray, Sir, consider our cases with humanity, and now give us cause to acknowledge you our true freind in time of neede. Wee have entreated Mr. Davison to deliver this note, as well to witnesse your love as our promises, and alwayes acknowledgment to be ever

“ Your most thanckfull and loving friends,

“ NAT. FIELD.”

“ The money shall be abated out of the money remayns for the play of Mr. Fletcher and ours.

“ ROB. DABORNE.”

“ I have ever found you a true loving friend to mee, and in so small a suite, it beeing honest, I hope you will not faile us.

“ PHILIP MASSINGER.”

Indorsed,

“ Received by mee Robert Davison of Mr.

Hinchlow, for the use of Mr. Daboerne, Mr. Feeld, Mr. Messenger, the sum of vl.

“ ROBERT DAVISON.”

The dimensions and plan of the Globe Playhouse, as well as the time when it was built, are ascertained by the following paper. I had conjectured that it was not built before 1596; and we have here a confirmation of that conjecture.

“ THIS INDENTURE made the eighte day of Januarye, 1599, and in the two and fortyth yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the fayth, &c. Between Phillipp Henflowe and Edward Allen of the parishe of St. Saviours in Southwark, in the countie of Surry, gentleman, on thone parte, and Peter Streete, citizen and carpenter of London, on thother parte, Witneffeth; that whereas the said Phillipp Henflowe and Edward Allen the day of the date hereof have bargained, compounded, and agreed with the said Peter Streete for the erectinge, buildinge, and setting up of a new House and Stage for a play-howse, in and uppon a certeine plott or peece of ground appoynted oute for that purpose, scituate and beinge near Goldinge lane in the parish of Saint Giles without Cripplegate of London; to be by him the said Peter Streete or some other sufficient workmen of his providing and appoyntment, and att his propper costes and chardges, (for the consideration hereafter in these presents expressed) made, builded, and sett upp, in manner and form following: that is to saie, the frame of the saide

howse to be sett square, and to conteine fower score foote of lawful affize everye waie square, without, and fiftie five foote of like affize square, everye waie within, with a good, fuer, and stronge foundation of pyles, brick, lyme, and sand, both without and within, to be wrought one foote of affize at the leiste above the ground; and the saide frame to conteine three stories in heighth, the first or lower storie to conteine twelve foote of lawful affize in heighth, the second storie eleaven foote of lawful affize in heighth, and the third or upper storie to conteine nine foote of lawful affize in height. All which stories shall conteine twelve foot and a half of lawful affize in breadth throughoute, besides a juttey forwards in eyther of the saide two upper stories of tene ynches of lawful affize; with fower convenient divisions for gentlemens roomes,⁹ and other sufficient and convenient divisions for twoopennie roomes;¹ with necessarie seates to be placed and sett as well in those roomes as throughoute all the rest of the galleries of the said howse; and with suche like steares, conveyances, and divisions without and within, as are made and contrived in and to the late-erected play-howse on the Bancke in the said parish of Saint Saviours, called THE GLOBE; with a stadge and tyreinge-howse, to be made, erected and sett upp within the saide frame; with a shadow or cover over the saide stadge; which stadge shall be placed and sett, as alsoe the stearcases of the said frame, in such sorte as is prefigured in a plot thereof drawen; and which stadge shall conteine in length fortie and three foote

⁹ What we now call the *Boxes*.

¹ Perhaps the rooms over the boxes; what we now call *Balconies*.

of lawfull affize, and in breadth to extende to the middle of the yarde² of the said howse: the same stage to be paled in belowe with goode stronge and sufficyent new oken boardes, and likewise the lower storie of the said frame withinfied, and the same lower storie to be alsoe laide over and fenced with stronge yron pyles: And the said stage to be in all other proportions contrived and fashioned like unto the stage of the saide Playhouse called THE GLOBE; with convenient windowes and lights glazed to the saide tireynge-howse. And the saide frame, stage, and stearcases, to be covered with tyle, and to have a sufficient gutter of leade, to carrie and convey the water from the coveringe of the said stage, to fall backwards. And alsoe all the saide frame and the stearcases thereof to be sufficyently enclosed without with lathe, lyme, and haire. And the gentlemens roomes and two-pennie roomes to be seeled with lathe, lyme, and haire; and all the flowers of the saide galleries, stories, and stage to be boarded with good and sufficient newe deale boardes of the whole thicknes, wheare neede shall be. And the said howse, and other thinges before mentioned to be made and doen, to be in all other contrivitions, conveyances, fashions, thinge and thinges, effected, finished and doen, according to the manner and fashion of the saide howse called THE GLOBE; saveinge only that all the princypall and maine postes of the saide frame, and stage forward, shall be square and wrought palaster-wise, with carved proportions called Satiers, to be placed and sett on the topp of every of the same postes: and saveing alsoe that the saide Peter Streete shall not be charged with anie manner of paynteinge in

² The open area in the centre.

or aboute the saide frame, howse, or stadge, or anie parte thereof, nor rendering the walles within, nor feelinge anie more or other roomes then the gentlemens roomes, twoo-pennie roomes, and stadge, before mentioned. Nowe thereuppon the said Peter Streete doth covenante, promise, and graunte for himself, his executors, and administrators, to and with the said Phillip Henflowe, and Edward Allen, and either of them, and the executors, and administrators of them, by these presents, in manner and forme followinge, that is to say; That he the saide Peter Streete, his executors, or assigns, shall and will at his or their owne propper costes and chardges, well, workman-like, and substantially make, erect, sett upp, and fullie finnishe in and by all thinges accordinge to the true meaninge of theis presents, with good stronge and substancyall new tymber and other necessarie stuff, all the said frame and other works whatsoever in and uppon the saide plott or parcell of ground, (beinge not by anie authoritie restrayned, and having ingres, egres, and regres to doe the same,) before the five and twentyth daye of Julie, next comeing after the date hereof. And shall alsoe att his or their like costes and chardges provide and find all manner of workmen, tymber, joysts, rafters, boords, dores, bolts, hinges, brick, tyle, lathe, lyme, haire, sande, nailes, lead, iron, glasse, workmanship and other thinges whatsoever which shall be needful, convenient and necessarie for the saide frame and works and everie parte thereof: and shall alsoe make all the saide frame in every poynte for scantlings lardger and bigger in affize than the scantlings of the timber of the saide newe-erected howse called The Globe. And alsoe that he the saide Peter Streete shall furthwith, as well by him selfe as by suche other

and soe manie workmen as shall be convenient and necessarie, enter into and uppon the saide buildinges and workes, and shall in reasonable manner proceed therein withoute anie wilfull detraction, untill the same shall be fully effected and finished. IN CONSIDERATION of all which buildings and of all stuff and workmanship thereto belonging, the said Philip Henflowe, and Edward Allen, and either of them, for themselves, their and either of their executors and administrators, doe joyntlie and severallie covenante and graunt to and with the saide Peter Streete, his executors and administrators, by their presents, that the said Phillipp Henflowe, and Edward Allen, or one of them, or the executors, administrators, or assigns of them or one of them, shall and will well and trulie paie or cause to be paid unto the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assigns, att the place aforesaid appoynted for the erectinge of the said frame, the full some of FOWER HUNDRED AND FORTIE POUNDES, of lawfull money of Englande, in manner and forme followinge; that is to saie, at suche tyme and when as the tymber woork of the saide frame shall be rayfed and sett upp by the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assigns, or within seaven daies then next followinge, twoo hundred and twentie pounes; and att suche time and when as the said frame-work shall be fullie effected and finished as is aforesaid, or within seaven daies then next followinge, thother twooe hundred and twentie pounes, withoute fraude or coven. Provided allwaies, and it is agreed betwene the said parties, that whatsoever some or somes of money the said Phillip Henflowe, or Edward Allen, or either of them, or the executors or assigns of them or either of them, shall lend or deliver unto the saide Peter

Streete, his executors or assignes, or any other by his appoyntment or consent, for or concerninge the saide woork or anie parte thereof, or any stuff thereto belonginge, before the raiseing and setting upp of the saide frame, shall be reputed, accepted, taken and accompted in parte of the first payment aforesaid of the said some of fower hundred and fortie poundes : and all such some and somes of money as they or anie of them shall as aforesaid lend or deliver betwene the razeing of the said frame and finishing thereof, and of all the rest of the said works, shall be reputed, accepted, taken and accompted in parte of the laste payment afore- said of the same some of fower hundred and fortie poundes ; anie thinge above said to the contrary notwithstandinge. In witness whereof the parties abovesaid to theis present indentures interchangeably have sett their handes and seales. Yeoven the daie and yeare above-written."

AS the following article in Mr. Malone's *Supplement*, &c. 1780, is omitted in his present *Historical Account of the English Stage*, it is here reprinted. —The description of a most singular species of dramatick entertainment, cannot well be considered as an unnatural adjunct to the preceding valuable mass of theatrical information. STEEVENS.

“ A transcript of a very curious paper now in my possession, entitled, *The Platt of the Secound Parte of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*, serves in some measure to mark the various degrees of consequence of several of these [our ancient] performers.

The piece entitled *The Seven Deadly Sins*, in two parts, (of one of which the annexed paper contains the outlines,) was written by Tarleton the comedian.³ From the manner in which it is mentioned

³ See *Four Letters and certain Sonnets*, [by Gabriel Harvey] 1592, p. 29: “ —doubtless it will prove some dainty devise, quaintly contrived by way of humble supplication to the high and mightie Prince of darknesse; not dunfically botched up, but *right formally conveyed*, according to the stile and tenour of Tarleton's *president*, his famous *play of the Seaven Deadly Sinnes*; which most dealy [f. deadly] but lively playe I might have seen in London, and was verie gently invited thereunto at Oxford by Tarleton himfelse; of whom I merrily demaunding, which of the seaven was his own deadlie finne, he bluntly answered, after this manner; By G— the finne of other gentlemen, lechery.” Tarleton's *Repentance and his Farewell to his Frendes in his Sicknesse*, a little before his *Death*, was entered on the Stationers' books in October, 1589; so that the play of *The Seven Deadly Sins* must have been produced in or before that year.

The Seven Deadly Sins had been very early personified, and

by Gabriel Harvey, his contemporary, it appears to have been a new and unexampled species of dramatick exhibition. He expressly calls it a play. I think it probable, that it was first produced soon after a violent attack had been made against the stage. Several invectives against plays were published in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It seems to have been the purpose of the author of this exhibition, to concenter in one performance the principal subjects of the serious drama, and to exhibit at one view those uses to which it might be applied with advantage. That these *Seven Deadly Sins*, as they are here called, were esteemed the principal subjects of tragedy, may appear from the following verses of Heywood, who, in his *Apology for Actors*, introduces *Melpomene* thus speaking :

“ Have I not whipt Vice with a scourge of Steele,
 “ Unmaskt sterne *Murther*, sham'd lascivious *Lust*,
 “ Pluckt off the visar from grimme treason's face,
 “ And made the sunne point at their ugly finnes ?
 “ Hath not this powerful hand tam'd fiery *Rage*,
 “ Kill'd poysonous *Envy* with her own keene darts,
 “ Choak'd up the covetous mouth with moulten gold,
 “ Burst the vast wombe of eating *Gluttony*,
 “ And drown'd the drunkard's gall in juice of grapes ?
 “ I have shew'd *Pride* his picture on a stage,
 “ Layde ope the ugly shapes his steel-glasse hid,
 “ And made him passe thence meekely——.”

introduced by Dunbar, a Scottish writer, (who flourished about 1470) in a poem entitled *The Daunce*. In this piece they are described as presenting a mask or mummary, with the newest gambols just imported from France. In an anonymous poem called *The Kalender of Shepherds*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1497, are also described the *Seven Visions*, or the punishments in hell of *The Seven Deadly Sins*. See Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 197, 272. MALONE.

As a very full and satisfactory account of the exhibition described in this ancient fragment, by Mr. Steevens, will be found in the following pages, it is unnecessary to add any thing upon the subject. —What dramas were represented in the *first* part of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, we can now only conjecture, as probably the *Plot* of that piece is long since destroyed. The ill consequences of *Rage*, I suppose, were inculcated by the exhibition of *Alexander*, and the death of *Clitus*, on which subject, it appears, there was an ancient play.⁴ Some scenes in the drama of *Mydas*⁵ were probably introduced to exhibit the odiousness and folly of *Avarice*. Lessons against *Pride* and ambition were perhaps furnished, either by the play of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*,⁶ or by a piece formed on the story of *Phaeton*;⁷ And *Gluttony*, we may suppose, was rendered odious in the person of *Heliogabalus*.

MALONE.

⁴ “If we present a foreign history, the subject is so intended, that in the lives of Romans, Grecians, or others, the virtues of our countrymen are extolled, or their vices reprov’d.—We present *Alexander* killing his friend in his *rage*, to reprove *rashness*; *Mydas* choked with gold, to tax *covetousness*; *Nero* against *tyranny*; *Sardanapalus* against *luxury*; *Ninus* against *ambition*.”—Heywood’s *Apology for Actors*, 1610. MALONE.

⁵ See the foregoing note. MALONE.

⁶ *The Tragedy of Ninus and Semiramis, the first Monarchs of the World*, was entered on the Stationers’ books, May 10, 1595. See also note 4. MALONE.

⁷ There appears to have been an ancient play on this subject. “Art thou proud? Our *scene* presents thee with the fall of *Phaeton*; *Narcissus* pining in the love of his shadow; *ambitious* *Haman* now calling himself a god, and by and by thrust headlong among the devils.” *Pride* and *ambition* seem to have been used as synonymous terms. *Apology for Actors*. MALONE.

I met with this singular curiosity in the library of Dulwich College, where it had remained unnoticed from the time of Alleyn who founded that society, and was himself the chief or only proprietor of the *Fortune* playhouse.

The *Platt* (for so it is called) is fairly written out on pasteboard in a large hand, and undoubtedly contained directions appointed to be stuck up near the prompter's station. It has an oblong hole in its centre, sufficient to admit a wooden peg; and has been converted into a cover for an anonymous manuscript play entitled *The Tell-tale*. From this cover⁸ I made the preceding transcript; and the best conjectures I am able to form about its supposed purpose and operation, are as follows.

It is certainly (according to its title) the groundwork of a motley exhibition, in which the heinousness of the seven deadly sins⁹ was exemplified by aid of scenes and circumstances adapted from different dramas, and connected by choruses or occasional speakers. As the first part of this extraordinary entertainment is wanting, I cannot promise myself the most complete success in my attempts to explain the nature of it.

The period is not exactly fixed at which moralities gave way to the introduction of regular tra-

⁸ On the outside of the cover is written, "The *Book* and *Platt*," &c. STEEVENS.

⁹ Our ancient audiences were no strangers to the established catalogue of mortal offences. Claudio, in *Measure for Measure*, declares to Isabella that of *the deadly seven* his sin was *the least*. Spenser, in his *Fairy Queen*, canto iv. has personified them all; and the Jesuits, in the time of Shakspeare, pretended to cast them out in the shape of those animals that most resembled them. See *King Lear*, Vol. XVII. p. 468, n. 3. STEEVENS.

gedies and comedies. Perhaps indeed this change was not effected on a sudden, but the audiences were to be gradually weaned from their accustomed modes of amusement. The necessity of half indulging and half repressing a gross and vicious taste, might have given rise to such pieces of dramatick patchwork as this. Even the most rigid puritans might have been content to behold exhibitions in which Pagan histories were rendered subservient to Christian purposes. The dulness of the intervening homilist would have half absolved the *deadly sin* of the poet. A fainted audience would have been tempted to think the representation of *Othello* laudable, provided the piece were at once heightened and moralized¹ by choruses spoken in the characters of Ireton and Cromwell.—Let it be remembered, however, that to perform several short and distinct plays in the course of the same evening, was a practice continued much below the imagined date of this theatrical directory. Shakspeare's *Yorkshire Tragedy* was one out of four pieces acted together; and Beaumont and Fletcher's works supply a further proof of the existence of the same custom.

This “Platt of the *second* part of the seven deadly sins” seems to be formed out of three plays only,

¹ ——— *moralized* —] In Randolph's *Muse's Looking-Glass*, where two Puritans are made spectators of a play, a player, to reconcile them in some degree to a theatre, promises to *moralize* the plot: and one of them answers,

“ ——— that *moralizing*

“ I do approve: it may be for instruction.”

Again, Mrs. Flowerdew, one of the characters, says, “Pray, Sir, continue the *moralizing*.” The old registers of the Stationers afford numerous instances of this custom, which was encouraged by the increase of puritanism. STEEVENS.

viz. Lord Buckhurst's *Gorboduc*, and two others with which we are utterly unacquainted, *Sardanapalus* and *Tereus*.² It is easy to conceive how the different sins might be exposed in the conduct of the several heroes of these pieces. Thus, *Porrex* through *envy* destroys his brother;—*Sardanapalus* was a martyr to his *sloth*:

“ Et venere, et cænis, et pluma Sardanapali.”

Juv. Sat. X.

Tereus gratified his *lechery* by committing a rape on his wife's sister. I mention these three only, because it is apparent that the danger of the *four* preceding vices had been illustrated in the former part of the same entertainment. “ These *three* put back the other *four*,” as already done with, at the opening of the present exhibition. Likewise *Envy* crosses the stage before the drama of *Gorboduc*, and *Sloth* and *Lechery* appear before those of *Sardanapalus* and *Tereus*.—It is probable also that these different personages might be meant to appear as in a vision to *King Henry VI.* while he slept; and

² — *Tereus*.] Some tragedy on this subject most probably had existed in the time of Shakspeare, who seldom alludes to fables with which his audience were not as well acquainted as himself. In *Cymbeline* he observes that Imogen had been reading the tale of *Tereus*, where *Philomel* &c. An allusion to the same story occurs again in *Titus Andronicus*. A Latin tragedy entitled *Progne* was acted at Oxford when Queen Elizabeth was there in 1566. See Wood's *Hist. Ant. Un. Oxon.* Lib. I. p. 287, col. 2.

Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1610, has the following passage, from which we may suppose that some tragedy written on the story of *Sardanapalus* was once in possession of the stage. “ Art thou inclined to lust? Behold the fall of the Tarquins in *The Rape of Lucrece*; the guerdon of *luxury* in the death of *Sardanapalus* ;” &c. See also note 4, p. 406. STEEVENS.

that as often as he awaked, he introduced some particular comment on each preceding occurrence. His piety would well enough entitle him to such an office. In this task he was occasionally seconded by Lidgate, the monk of Bury, whose age, learning, and experience, might be supposed to give equal weight to his admonitions. The latter certainly, at his final exit, made a formal address to the spectators.

As I have observed that only particular scenes from these dramas appear to have been employed, so probably even these were altered as well as curtailed. We look in vain for the names of *Lucius* and *Damascus* in the list of persons prefixed to the tragedy of *Gorboduc*. These new characters might have been added, to throw the materials that composed the last act into narrative, and thereby shorten the representation; or perhaps all was tragick pantomime, or dumb show,³ except the alternate monologues of *Henry* and *Lidgate*; for from the *Troie Boke* of the latter I learn that the reciters of dramattick pieces were once distinct from the acting performers or gesticulators. But at what period this practice (which was perhaps the parent of all the pageantry and dumb shows in theatrical pieces during the reign of Elizabeth,) was begun or discontinued, I believe (like many customs of greater importance,) is not to be determined.

* *Lidgate
speaks only
of Roman
times.*

“ In the theatre there was a smale aulter
“ Amyddes sette that was halfe circuler,

³ I am led to this supposition by observing that Lord Buckhurst's *Gorboduc* could by no means furnish such dialogue as many of these situations would require; nor does the succession of scenes, enumerated above, by any means correspond with that of the same tragedy. STEEVENS.

" Which into easte of custome was directe,
 " Upon the whiche a pulpet was erecte,
 " And therein stode an auncient poete
 " For to reherse by rethorykes swete
 " The noble dedes that were hyforyall
 " Of kynges and prynces for memoryall,
 " And of these olde worthy emperours
 " The great empyrse eke of conquerours,
 " And how they gat in Martes hye honour
 " The lawrer grene for fyne of their labour,
 " The palme of knighthod diservd by old date,
 " Or Parchas made them passen into fate.
 " And after that with chere and face pale,
 " With stile enclyned gan to tourne his tale,
 " And for to syng after all their loose,
 " Full mortally the stroke of Attropose,
 " And tell also for all their worthy head
 " The sodeyne breaking of their lives threde,
 " How piteously they made their mortall ende
 " Through false fortune that al the world wil shende,
 " And how the fyne of all their worthynesse
 " Ended in sorowe and in high tristesse.
 " By compassyng of fraud or false treason,
 " By sodaine murder or vengeance of poyson,
 " Or conspyryng of fretyng false envye
 " How unwarily that they dydden dye,
 " And how their renowne and their mighty fame
 " Was of hatred sodeynly made lame,
 " And how their honour downward gan decline,
 " And the mischiefe of their unhappy fyne,
 " And how fortune was to them unswete,
 " All this was told and red by the poete.
 " *And whyle that he in the pulpit stode*
 " *With deadly face all devoyde of blode,*
 " *Synging his dittees with muses all to rent,*
 " *Amyd the theatre shrowded in a tent,*
 " *There came out men gastfull in their cheres,*
 " *Disfygured their faces with viseres,*
 " *Playing by sygnes in the peoples syght*
 " *That the poete songe hath on heyght,*
 " *So that there was no manner discordaunce*
 " *Atwene his ditees and their countenaunce ;*
 " *For lyke as he alofte dyd expresse*
 " *Wordes of joye or of heavynesse,*
 " *Meaning and chere beneth of them playing*
 " *From poynt to poynt was alway answering ;*

“ Now triste, now glad, now hevy, and now light,
 “ And face ychaungid with a sodeyne syght
 “ So craftely they coulde them transfigure,
 “ Conforming them unto the chante plure,
 “ Now to synge and sodaynely to wepe,
 “ So well they could their observaunces kepe.
 “ And this was done,” &c. *Troie Boke*, B. II. c. xii.

I think *Gravina* has somewhere alluded to the same contrivance in the rude exhibitions of very early dramattick pieces.

It may be observed, that though Lidgate assures us both tragedies and comedies were thus represented in the city of Troy, yet Guido of Colonna (a civilian and poet of Messina in Sicily) whom he has sometimes very closely followed, makes mention of no such exhibitions. The custom, however, might have been prevalent here, and it is probable that Lidgate, like Shakspeare, made no scruple of attributing to a foreign country the peculiarities of his own.

To conclude, the mysterious fragment of ancient stage directions, which gave rise to the present remarks, must have been designed for the use of those who were familiarly acquainted with each other, as sometimes, instead of the surname of a performer, we only meet with *Ned* or *Nich*.⁴ Let

⁴ From this paper we may infer, with some degree of certainty, that the following characters were represented by the following actors :

King Henry VI.

{ E. of Warwick,	-	Geo. Bryan.*
{ Lieutenant,	-	Rich. Cowley.*
{ Pursuivant,	-	John Duke.†
{ Warder,	-	R. Pallant.

* The names marked with an asterisk occur in the list of original performers in the plays of Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

† This performer, and Kit. i. e. Christopher Beeston, who appears in this

me add, that on the whole this paper describes a species of dramattick entertainment of which no memorial is preserved in any annals of the English stage. STEEVENS.

Gorboduc.

{ Gorboduc,	-	-	R. Burbage.*
{ Porrex,	-	-	W. Sly.*
{ Ferrex,	-	-	Harry (i. e. Condell).*
{ Lucius,	-	-	G. Bryan.
{ Damafus,	-	-	T. Goodale.
{ Videna, (the Queen,)	-	-	Saunder (i. e. <i>Alexander Cooke.</i>)*

Tereus.

{ Tereus,	-	-	R. Burbage.
{ Philomela,	-	-	R. Pallant.
{ Panthea,	-	-	T. Belt.
{ Itys,	-	-	Will.
{ Julio,	-	-	J. Sincler.†
{ Progne,	-	-	Saunder.

Sardanapalus.

{ Sardanapalus,	-	-	Aug. Phillips.*
{ Arbactus,	-	-	Tho. Pope.*
{ Nicanor,	-	-	R. Pallant.
{ Giraldu,	-	-	R. Cowley.
{ Phronefius,	-	-	T. Goodale.
{ Will. Fool,	-	-	J. Duke.
{ Aspatia,	-	-	R. Gough.*
{ Pompeia,	-	-	Ned (perhaps Edward Alleyn)
{ Rodope,	-	-	Nich. (Nicholas Tooley).*

STEEVENS.

exhibition as an attendant Lord, belonged to the same company as Burbage, Condell, &c. See B. Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*. MALONE.

† This name will serve to confirm Mr. Tyrwhitt's supposition in a note to *The Taming of the Shrew*, Vol. IX. p. 23, n. 7. STEEVENS.

To the preceding extract are now annexed three other "Plotts" of three of our old unpublished dramattick pieces.⁵ See No. I. II. and III. The originals are in my possession.

There is reason to suppose that these curiosities once belonged to the collection of Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College; nor am I left without expectation that at some future period I may derive more important intelligence from the dispersed remains of that theatrical repository.

The Dead Man's Fortune and *Tamar Cam*, will not, I believe, be found in any catalogues of dramattick performances. At least they are not enumerated among such as have fallen within Mr. Reed's observation, or my own.

That the play of *Frederick and Basilea* was acted, by the Lord Admiral's Company, four times in the year 1597, may be ascertained from Mr. Malone's *Additions*, p. 365.

In these three "Plotts" the names of several ancient players, "unregister'd in vulgar fame," are preserved.—But to luckier and more industrious

⁵ The loss of a number of such early plays is perhaps to be lamented only as far as they would have served to throw light on the comick dialogue of Shakspeare, which, (as I suspect,) is in some places darkened by our want of acquaintance with ridiculous scenes at which his allusions, during his own time, might have been both obviously and successfully pointed: for as Dr. Johnson, in his comprehensive preface, has observed, "Whatever advantages our author might once derive from personal allusions, local customs, or temporary opinions, have for many years been lost; and every topick of merriment, or motive of sorrow, which the modes of artificial life afforded him, now only obscure the scenes which they once illuminated."

Charles: Dick: John: & Mr. Rogers.

Part of the
List of

Enter

Enter Manager Oliver: 2 noblemen: Mr. Dwyer & W. Carr & Dick Jubb & (3) W. Carr: Parker & George: To them Oliver: Turner: & Coleman: H. Carr: Mr. Allen & Mr. Turner: Manager & nobles: Turner: Mr. Turner & Oliver: Turner: Coleman: Mr. Turner	Second Second Second Second
Enter the Parker family: Mr. Parker: Frederick: Mr. Turner: Mr. Charles & Dick Jubb Turner: To them a Second: W. Carr: Turner:	Second Second Second Second
Enter Turner Carr: Oliver: Parker: The Manager: W. Carr: Turner:	Second Second Second Second
Enter Oliver: & a Turner: Mr. Turner & Turner: To them Coleman: Turner: Manager Coleman: To him Turner: Turner: Oliver: 3 nobles: Mr. Carr: Mr. Jubb: & W. Carr: Mr. Coleman: To them Coleman & Manager: grand George: Parker: Turner: Turner: Coleman: Mr. Carr:	Second Second Second Second Second Second Second Second
Enter Oliver: Charles Dick Jubb: Mr. Turner	Second Second Second Second
Enter Oliver: To him a Turner: Parker: To him another Turner: Parker: Mr. Jubb: To him another Dick Jubb: To him another: Mr. Carr: Mr. Carr: Mr. Carr: Turner: To him Turner Carr: Mr. Turner: To him Turner again: Turner:	Second Second Second Second Second Second Second Second
Enter Coleman: & 3 noblemen: W. Carr: The Manager & W. Carr: To them Manager:	Second Second Second Second
Enter Oliver: To him Turner: Mr. Carr: To him Turner: Turner:	Second Second Second Second

Article and Illustration.

... The name of this actor may possibly occur in Mr. Malone's conjecture, that, in pp. 368, 372, and 374, by Peyer, was meant—Peyer; which perhaps, at so early a period, had not been introduced on the stage. Besides, the representative of this goddelt could never have required "a red vest of cloth, lined with white lace," "a diamond gowne," "a haricottier tunic tunic," "a white tunic tunic," "a small pocket," &c. These different clothes were evidently designed for the use of an actor who (like Peyer) appeared in a variety of characters. STEVENS.

+ [Guthrie?] Without assistance from the play of which this is the play, the denomination—Guthrie is, perhaps, inexplicable. STEVENS.

The plot of the

Enter Frederick King: Richard Allen.
Enter Frederick King: Mr. Juba R. Allen To them Baker returns Black Dick Dick.
Enter Governor Allen's Men: Mr. Davidson, Griffin, Charles. To them hear the sentence. The Headblack Dick.
Enter Jackson, Sebastian, Theodore, Pedro, Phillip, Andro, Mr. Allen, Will, Mr. Martin, Ed. Dutton, Jackson, Pig: * To them hear the sentence. Mr. Juba R. Allen, Jack, The Lion, Black Dick.
Enter Myron-hunter, Jack, The Lion, The Lion's brother To them hear the sentence. Charles.
Enter Governor Mr. Davidson, To him Messenger The Lion To them hear the sentence: To them Myron-hunter, Goliath.
Enter the King, Baker, R. Allen, Dick, To them King. Mr. Juba To them Messenger Black Dick To them Sebastian, Theodore, Pedro, Phillip, Andro, The Lion, Mr. Allen, Sam: Mr. Martin, Jack: Dutton Pig To them hear the sentence. Will.
Enter Frederick Baker, R. Allen: Dick. To them Phillip, Dutton. To her King Frederick, Mr. Juba R. Allen.
Enter Myron-hunter, Sebastian, Pedro, Jack. The Lion, Mr. Allen, Jackson, Andro.
Enter King Theodore Frederick, Mr. Juba, Mr. Martin, R. Allen. To them Phillip, Baker, R. Dutton his boy, Guard The Lion, Goliath. To them Messenger Black Dick. To them Sebastian Myron-hunter Leona Pedro Andro, Mr. Allen: The Lion, Will: Jackson Pig guard Goliath.
Enter Frederick Baker To them Pedro, confederate Robt. Jack: Black Dick Goliath. To them hear the sentence: The Lion.

antiquaries of the scene I must resign the task of collecting anecdotes of their lives : so that " Pigg, Ledbeter, White and Black Dick and Sam, Jack Gregory, Little Will Barne, and the red-faced fellow," &c. appear at present with less celebrity than their brethren who figured in the plays of Shakspeare.

Notwithstanding the reader must observe that the drift of the foregoing dramattick pieces cannot be collected from the mere outlines before us, he may be ready enough to charge them with absurdity. Justice therefore requires me to add, that even the scenes of our author would have worn as unpromising an aspect, had their skeletons only been discovered.

For several reasons I suspect that these " Plotts" had belonged to three distinct theatres, in which at different periods Alleyn might have held shares. —The names of the performers in each company materially disagree ;⁶ the " Plotts" themselves are

⁶ No. I. *The dead Man's Fortune.*

1. Burbage. 2. Darlowe. 3. Robert Lee. 4. B. Sam. 5. Tyreman.

Not one of the foregoing names occurs in the two following dramas.

No. II. *Tamar Cam.*

1. Allen.* 2. Dick Jubie.* 3. Mr. Towne.* 4. Mr. Sam.* 5. Mr. Charles. 6. W. Cartwright. 7. Mr. Denyghten. 8. Tho. Marbeck. 9. W. Parr. 10. Tho. Parsons. 11. George. 12. H. Jeffs. 13. A. Jeffs. 14. Mr. Burne. 15. Mr. Singer.† 16. Jack

† *Singer.*] Perhaps he was author of a dramattick entertainment entitled *Singer's Voluntary.* See p. 388.

Other memoranda of several of these actors will be found in preceding pages, among Mr. Malone's notes to his *Additions.* STEEVENS.

written out in very different hands ; and (though the remark may seem inconsiderable) their apertures are adapted to pegs of very different dimensions. See the second paragraph in p. 407.

STEEVENS.

Jones. 17. Jack Gregory. 18. Mr. Denyghten's little Boy. 19. Gedion. 20. Gibbs. 21. Little Will. 22. Tho. Rowley. 23. Rester. 24. Old Browne. 25. Ned Browne. 26. Jeames. 27. Gil's Boy. 28. Will Barne. 29. The red-faced fellow.

No. III. *Frederick and Basilea.*

1. Richard Allen.* 2. Dick Jubie.* 3. Mr. Towne.* 4. Mr. Sam.* 5. Mr. Charles.* 6. Dick. 7. Black Dick. 8. Mr. Dunstan. 9. Griffen. 10. Tho. Hunt. 11. Will. 12. Mr. Martyn. 13. Ed. Dutton. 14. Ledbeter. 15. Pigg. 16. E. Dutton's Boy.

The plays No. II. and III. have no performers in common, except such as are distinguished by asterisks. STEEVENS.

FARTHER ACCOUNT
OF
THE RISE AND PROGRESS
OF
THE ENGLISH STAGE.

BY GEORGE CHALMERS, ESQ.

WHEN we turn our attention to the pastimes of our ancestors, who were brave, but illiterate, we perceive, that they delighted more in such sports, as resembled the *grappling vigour* of war, than the *modest stillness* of peace. *Tournaments* were, in those times, not only the delight of barons, bold; but of ladies, gay.⁷ In the regulation of *the household* by Henry VII. it is *ordained*, that three dayes after the *coronation*, “the Queene, and all the ladies in their freshest array, may go to behold the *justes* ;⁸ but not to see the *play*. Even

⁷ Warton's *Hist. of Poetry*, Vol. II. f. 7.

⁸ Household Ordinances, pub. by the Ant. Soc. 1790, p. 124, —“Justs, and tournaments, were a court recreation, in former days, at solemn times, and lasted to the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In April 1560, were great justs at Westminster, and running at the tilt.” [Strype's *Stow*, Vol. I. p. 300.] This observation might have been extended, perhaps, to the end of that reign: For, I find a *payment*, on the 29th of November 1601, “unto George Johnson, keeper of the *Spring-garden*,

as late as 1515, Henry VIII, on May-day, in the morning, with Queen Katharine, and many lords and ladies, rode *a-maying* from Greenwich to Shooter's Hill; where they were entertained by Robin Hood, and his men, to their great contentment.⁹ While the people were yet gross, the sports of the field being agreeable to their natures, were more encouraged, from policy, than the effeminate pastimes of "*a city-feast*."

It was with the revival of learning, during the middle ages, that a new species of entertainment was introduced, which was addressed rather to the intellect, than to the eye. A religious colloquy, which was aptly called a *mystery*, was contrived, without much invention, indeed, and without plan; consisting, often, of the allegorical characters, *Faith, Hope, Charity, Sin, and Death*. The *mysteries* were originally represented in religious houses, in which places only learning was, in those days, cultivated; and whence instruction of every kind was dispersed among a rude people. The ancient mysteries were introduced upon the same principle, which has often been adduced in defence of the modern drama, that they *instructed, by pleasing, and pleased by instructing*. While few could read; and at a time when few were allowed to peruse *the Scriptures*, religious truths of the greatest importance were, in this manner, pleasantly conveyed to illiterate minds. Thus, too, was the rudeness of their manners gradually changed into the softer modes of polished life: And, at length, the

of £.6, for a scaffold, which he had erected against the park-wall, in the tilt-yard; and which was taken for the use of the *Countie Egmond*, to see the tilters." [Council Regr.]

⁹ Stow's *Hist. of London*, edit. 1754, Vol. I. p. 304.

mysteries obtained a conquest over the *tournament*, which was less relished, as manners were more refined, and were less frequented, as the mind was elevated to a greater desire of gentle peace.

But, the invention of printing, and the introduction of learning, made *the mysteries* of ruder times, less necessary; when a new age was induced by more knowledge, and civility, to practise new customs. Henry the VIIIth tried to abolish *the mysteries* by act of ¹ parliament; and the Puritans with a wilder spirit, but more effectual success, exploded the religious dramas, as sinful, and sacrilegious; though they had been authorised by popes, for the propagation of the gospel, and encouraged by bishops, for the polish of manners.

As the people advanced from rudeness to refinement, the *mysteries* were succeeded by *the moralities*. Simplicity now gave way a little to art. Characters began to be delineated, by the introduction of historical personages, in the room of allegorical beings; and plot to be attempted, by the unravelment of some fable, for the inculcation of some moral. The reign of Edward the IVth is supposed to be the epoch of *moralities*. The reign of Henry the VIIth was the period of the greatest prevalence of those *moralities*: But, they were not often acted, during Elizabeth's reign of gradual improvement.

The *moralities* gave place, in their turn, to *the INTERLUDE*; ² *something played*, says Johnson, at

¹ 34-5 Hen. VIII. ch. 1.

² Henry VIII placed on his household establishment *eight players of interludes*, at £.3. 6. 8. each, yearly. This number, and salary, continued to the reign of James I. The eight players could only present a drama of a very simple and imperfect form.

the *intervals of festivity*, a farce, or drama, of the lowest order. It seems certain, then, that in every period of our annals, we had players of some species, for the benefit of instruction, and the purpose of amusement. Henry the VIIth, “the qwene, and my ladye the Kyng’s moder,” amused themselves with a play at Candlemas.³ Henry the VIIIth was, probably, the first of our kings, who formed an establishment of players, for the amusement of his many *qwenes*; but, he was the first, who introduced a *master of the revels*, for promoting mirth, and at the same time preserving order.

But, *abuse*, and *the use*, are the necessary concomitants of each other. Even the *Reformation*, a necessary good, brought with it religious contest, its concomitant evil. The poets, and the players, who were to live by pleasing, presented to the people such *dramas*, as pleased, rather than instructed; offered to a coarse populace what was profitable, rather than what was fit.

“Next, *Comedy* appear’d, with great applause,
 “Till her licentious and abusive tongue,
 “Weaken’d the magistrate’s coercive power.”

Such a government, indeed, as Henry the VIIIth bequeathed to his infant son, necessarily produced every kind of grievance. One of the first complaints of Edward VIth’s reign, was the seditiousness of the “common players of interludes and playes, as well within the city of London, as else where.” On the 6th of August, 1547, there issued “*A pro-*

³ See p. 42. Henry VII. who was not apt to put his hand in his pocket, gave, as charity to the *players*, that begged by the way, 6s. 8d. There were, in his reign, not only *players*, in London, but, *Frensh players*.

*clamacion for the inhibition of players."*⁴ And, *the maker* was, in that reign, sent to the Tower,

⁴ I here print this *document*, which has been mistated, and misrepresented, from the collection "Of suche proclamacions, as have been sette furthe by the Kynge's Majestie," and imprinted by Richard Grafton, in 1550:—

"Forasmuche, as a greate n^ober of those, that be common plaiers of enterludes and plaies, as well within the citie of London, as els where, within the realme, do for the moste part plaie suche interludes, as contain matter, tendyng to sedicion, and contempnyng of sundery good orders & lawes, whereupon are growen, and daily are like to growe, and ensue muche disquiet, diuⁱsio, tumultes, & uprores in this realme the Kynges Majestie, by the advise and consent of his dereft uncle, Edward duke of Somers^et, gouernour of his persone, and protector of his realmes dominions and subiectes, and the rest of his highnes priue counsell, straightly chargeth and commaundeth, al and euery his majestes subiectes, of whatsoever state, order, or degree thei bee, that frō the ix daie of this present moneth of August, untill the feast of all Sainctes nexte commyng, thei ne any of them, openly or secretly, plaie in the English tongue, any kinde of interlude, plaie, dialogue, or other matter set furthe in forme of plaie, in any place, publique or priuate, within this realme upō pain that whosoever shall plaie in Englishe any suche play, interlude, dialogue, or other matter, shall suffre imprisonment, & further punishmet, at the pleasure of his majestie. For the better execution whereof, his majestie, by the said aduise and consent, straightly chargeth and commaundeth, all and singular maiors, sherifes, bailifes, constables, hedborowes, tithyng men, justices of peace, and al other his majesties hed officers in al ye partes throughout the realme, to geve order and speciall heede, that this proclamacion be in all behalves, well and truely kept and obserued, as thei and every of them, teder his highnes pleasure, and will auoyde his indignacion."

"The proclamation being but temporary, did not take down,

for the writing of plays ; the offence being probably aggravated by disobedience to some injunction.⁵ The jealousy, and strictness, of that period, would only permit the players of the highest noblemen to play, within their own houses.⁶ The court of Edward had, however, a few joyous moments. Military *triumphs* were exhibited “ at Shrovetide, and at Twelftide.”⁷ At the festivals of Christmas, and Candlemas, *A lord of the pastimes was appointed*, and *playes* were acted : and for the greater *joyousance*, poets of the greatest talents were sought, to promote festivity. George Ferrers, a

but only clear the stage, for a time, (says Fuller ;) reformed enterludes (as they term them) being afterward permitted : Yea, in the first of Queen Elizabeth, scripture plaies were acted even in the church it self, which, in my opinion, the more pious, the more profane, stooping faith to fancy, and abating the majestie of God’s word. Such *pageants* might *inform*, not *edifie*, though indulged the ignorance of that age : For, though children may be *played* into *learning*, *all* must be wrought into *religion*, by *ordinances* of divine *institutions*, and the *means* ought to be as *serious*, as the *end* is *secret*.” [Church Hist. Cent. xvi. p. 392.] “ It appears, (says Mr. Malone,) from the proclamation [of Edward the VIth] that the favourers of Popery about that time had levelled several dramattick invectives against Archbishop Cranmer, and the doctrines of the Reformers.” See p. 32, n. 6. Yet, we see, that the proclamation does not bear him out in his assertion.

⁵ In the council-register, appears the following order :—“ At Greenwich, 10th June 1552, It was this day ordered, That the Lord Treasurer should send for the poet, which is in the Tower *for making plays*, and to deliver him.”

⁶ A letter was written from the privy council, on the 21st June, 1551, to the Marquis of Dorset ; “ signifying license to be granted, for to have his players, play only in his lordship’s presence.” [Council-regr.]

⁷ On the 12th Janry. 1547, a warrant was issued for £60. 8s. 10d. to Sir Thomas Darcy, for pikes, lances, and other necessaries, for the *Triumph*, at Shrove-tide ; and for weapons at Twelf-tide. [Council-regr.]

person of superior rank, who was educated at Oxford, and entered at Lincoln's Inn, and who was a gentleman belonging to the Protector Somerset, was employed, as the lord of the pastimes.⁸ William Baldwyn, who was a graduate of Oxford, and another of the celebrated authors of the *Myrrour for Magistrates*, was appointed to *set forth a play*.⁹ Edward had a regular establishment of *players of interludes*; and of *mynstrels*,¹ and *singing men*, who sung in the King's presence.² But, the festivities of Edward's days were soon clouded over by the reign of blood, which succeeded his premature demise.

The gloom, which hung over the court of Mary, did not spread far beyond the influence of her presence. In London, and in Canterbury, in Essex, and in Yorkshire, plays continued to be acted, because they were agreeable to the country, however

⁸ A warrant was issued, on the 30th of November 1552, to pay George *Ferrys*, being appointed to be Lord of the Pastimes, in the King's Majesties house, this Christmas £.100, towards the necessary charges. [Council-regr.] Stow says, that he so pleasantly behaved himself, the King had great delight in his pastimes. George Ferrers, who, we see, was called *Ferrys*, died in 1579. There is an accurate account of him in Warton's *Hist. of Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 213.

⁹ A letter was written, on the 28th Janry 1552-3, to Sir Thomas Cawerden, the master of the revels, to furnish William Baldwin, who was appointed to set forth a play, before the King, upon Candlemas-day, at night, with all necessaries.

¹ In 1547, the establishment consisted of Hugh Woudehous, marshal; of John Abbes, Robert Stouchy, Hugh Grene, and Robert Norman, mynstrels; whose wages amounted to each fifty marks a year. [Council-register.]

² A warrant was issued on the 14th June 1548, to pay Richard Atkinson, in *recompence* of forty marks yearly, that he had of the King's Majestie for singing before him. [Council-register.]

displeasing to the court, which, in its own darkness, saw danger from merriment, and, from its own weakness, perceived sedition, in the hilarity of the drama. Special orders were, accordingly, issued to prevent the acting of plays in particular places.³ When these failed of effect, a general order was issued from the star chamber, in Easter term 1557; requiring the justices of the peace, in every shire, to suffer no players, whatsoever the matter were, to play, within their several jurisdictions. But, these injunctions, as they were displeasing to the people, were not every where enforced; and the strolling players found means to save themselves from the penalties, which the law inflicted on vagabonds.⁴ The magistrates of Canterbury were

³ The privy council wrote to Lord Rich, on the 14th of February 1555-6, "that where [as] there is a stage play appointed to be played this Shrovetide at Hatfield-Bradock, in Essex, his Lordship is willed to stay the same, and to examine, who should be the players, what the effect of the play is, with such other circumstances as he shall think meet, and to signify the same hither." Inquiry soon found, however, that neither the play, nor the players, were very dangerous. And, on the 19th of the same month, a letter of thanks was written by the privy council "to the Lord Rich for his travel in staying the stage play; and requiring him for that he knoweth the players to be honest householders and quiet persons, to set them again at liberty, and to have special care to stop the like occasions of assembling the people hereafter."

⁴ See the letter from the privy council to the president of the north, dated the 30th of April 1556, in Strype's *Mem.* Vol. III. appx. 185; and Lodge's *Illust.* Vol. I. p. 212. In the subsequent year, the orders, which were sent to the north, were issued to every other shire. A letter of thanks was written by the privy council, on the 11th of July, 1557, to the Lord Rich, touching the players; and signifying to his Lordship "that order was given in the star-chamber openly to the justices of the peace of every shire, this last term, that they should suffer no players, whatsoever the matter was, to play, especially this summer,

remarkably active in obeying those orders ; in committing the players, and seizing their lewd play-book.⁵ But, the Mayor of London seems not, like his brother of Canterbury, to have merited, on that occasion, the thanks of the privy council, for his zeal against plays.⁶ On the 5th of September,

which order his Lordship is willed to observe, and to cause them that shall enterprize the contrary to be punished."—A similar letter was written, on the same day, to the justices of the peace for the county of Essex ; " signifying, that as they were admonished this last term in the star-chamber, it is thought strange, that they haue not accordingly accomplished the same." [Council-register.]

⁵ The privy council, on the 27th of June 1557, wrote a letter to " John Fuller, the Mayor of Canterbury, of thanks for his diligence, in the apprehending and committing of the players to ward, whom he is willed to keep so, until he shall receive further orders from hence. And in the mean [time] their lewd play-book is committed to the consideration of the King's and Queen's Majesty's learned council, who are willed to declare what the same waieth unto in the law ; whereupon he shall receive further order from hence, touching the said players." On the 11th of August, 1557, another letter was sent " to the mayor and aldermen of Canterbury, with the lewd play-book, sent hither by them, and the examinations also of the players thereof, which they are willed to consider, and to follow the order hereof signified unto them, which was, that upon understanding what the law was, touching the said lewd play, they should thereupon proceed against the players forthwith, according to the same, and the qualities of their offences ; which order, they are willed to follow, without delay." [Council-register of those dates.]

⁶ A letter was written by the privy council, on the 4th June, 1557, to the Lord Mayor of London, " That where [as] there were yesterday certain *naughty plays* played in London (as the Lords here are informed). He is willed both to make search for the said players ; and having found them, to send them to the commissioners for religion, to be by them further ordered. And also to take order, that no play be made henceforth within the city, except the same be first seen and allowed and the players authorised."—On the 5th of September 1557, the privy-council wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor of London,—“ To

1557, he was ordered to cause his officers forthwith to repair to the *Boar's Head*, without Aldgate, and to apprehend the players, who were then, and there, to represent a lewd play, called *A Sack full of News*; which was thereupon so completely suppressed, as to prevent its subsequent publication. The representation of this *lewd play* induced the privy council to direct the Lord Mayor to suffer no plays to be played, within London, but *such as were seen and allowed by the Ordinary*. In the mean time, the Queen continued the household establishment, which her father had made, for eight players of interludes. The great poet of her reign was John Heywood, the epigrammatist, who fled from the face of Elizabeth, at the revival of the reformation, which immediately succeeded her accession. If any drama were printed, during the reign of Mary, it has escaped the eyes of the most diligent collectors.

The sun of Elizabeth rose, in November, 1558, and went not down, until March, 1603. This reign, as it thus appears to have been long in its duration, and is celebrated for the wisdom of its measures,

give order forthwith, that some of his officers do forthwith repair to *the Boar's-head*, without Aldgate, where, the Lords are informed a lewd play, called *a Sack full of News*, shall be played this day: The players thereof, he is willed, to apprehend, and to commit to ward, until he shall hear further from hence; and to take their play-book from them, and to send the same hither." The Lord Mayor appears to have punctually obeyed. And, on the morrow, the privy council wrote another letter to the same magistrate: "willing him to set at liberty the players, by him apprehended, by order from hence yesterday, and to give them and all other players throughout the city, in commandment and charge, not to play any plays, but between the feasts of All-saints and Shrovetide, and then only, *such as are seen and allowed by the Ordinary*." [Council-register of those dates.]

enabled learning, by its kindly influences, to make a vast progress; and assisted the stage, by its salutary regulations, to form a useful establishment. What Augustus said of Rome, may be remarked of Elizabeth, and the stage, that she found it *brick*, and left it *marble*. The persecutions of preceding governments had, indeed, left her without a theatre, without dramas, and without players.⁷ These positions appear, from what has been already said; and are confirmed by *A Breif Estimât*, which I discovered in the paper-office; and which, being very interesting in its matter, and curious in its manner, is subjoined in the marginal note below.⁸

⁷ From a document, in the paper office, it appears, that Queen Elizabeth had such an establishment of musicians, and players, as her father had made:—

MUSICIANS; as Trumpeters, Luters, Harpers, Singers, Rebeckes, Vialls, Sagbutts, Bag- pipes, Mynstrels, Domeslads, Flutes, Players on Instruments, Makers of In- struments; Salarys yearly	-	-	£.200	—	—
PLAYERS OF INTERLUDES	-	-	21	13	4.

⁸ “ A Brief Estimât off all the charges against Christmas and Candellmas ffor iij Plays at Wyndfor wth. thare necessaries and provicions ffor the Carages and Recarages of the same stuff and all ordinarie charges and allsoo for the conveyinge of the stuff in to the cleane ayre and save kepinge of the same in Anno Sexto Elizabeth. And allsoo in the same yeare the ixth. of June Repayringe and new makinge of thre Maskes with thare hole furniture and Divs. devisses and a Castle ffor ladies and a harbour ffor Lords and thre Harrolds and iij Trompetours too bringe in the Devise with the Men of Armes and shoven at the Courtte of Richmond before the Quēns Matie. and the French Embassitours &c. And divs [divers] Eyrings and Repayringe and Translatinge of sunderie garments ffor playes att Cristmas and Shroftid in Anno Septimo Elizabeth and many thinges miōnd [commissioned] and furnished wch, ware nott sene and much stuff bought &c.

Such was the state of the drama, when Shakspeare was born. We shall perceive that, before he came

1563—Cristmas wages or dieats of the Officers & Tayllors Paynters Silkwemen m̄cers [merciers] Lynen Drappers ppertie makers and other necessaries & provicions occupied and bought ffor the same - £.39 11 4.

1563—Candellmas ffollowinge wages or dieats of the officers and Tayllors. Silkwemen m̄cers [merciers] Skynars and ppertie makers and other necessaries and provicions - - - - 10 6 5.

1564—Eyrtinge [airing] and Repaytinge in Aprill ffollowinge wages or dieats of the officers and Tayllors pvicions and necessaries and other ordinarie charges - 8 5 6.

1564—The ixth. of June Tranflattinge new ma-
At Richmo + kinge of thre maskes and other De-
Mons Gonvi visses against the French Embassitours
cominge to Richmond wages or dieats of the officers and Tayllors payntars workinge uppon the Castle and other devisses & m̄cers [merciers] ffor sarsnet and other stuff and Lynen Drappars ffor canvas to coṽ [cover] yt withal and Silkwemen for ffrenge and tassalles to garnesh the old garments to make them seme fresh agayne and other pvicions and necessaries - - - - 87 9 6.

1564—Errynging [airing] Repaytinge in Agust followinge wages or dieats of the officers & Tayllors. Silkwemen for ffrenge and tassells and other necessaries - - 11 18 4.

1564—Errynging [airing] in September followinge wages or dieats of the Officers and Tayllors. & other pvicions and necessaries 8 6 8

1564—Cristmas Anno Septimo Elizabeth wages Ed. Hayedy or dieats of the Officers and Tayllors. payntars workinge divs [divers] Cities and Towns Carvers Silkwemen for frenge & tassells m̄cers [merciers] ffor Sarsnett and other Stuff and Lynen Drappars for canvas to coṽ [cover] divs.

out upon the stage, great improvements had been made in the plays; in the actors; and in the theatre; but that much was still wanting to reduce

[divers] townes and howffes and other
Deviffes and Clowds for a Maske and a
Showe and a playe by the Childerne of
the Chaple ffor Rugge bumbayft an cot-
tone ffor hofse and other pvicions and
necessaries - - - £.87 7 8.

Erryinge [airing] in Ieneverey ffor cayrtene
playes by the gramar fkolle of Westmyn-
fter and the Childerne of Powles wages
dieats of the Officers and Tayllors. Mer-
cers and other provicions - - - 8 6 8.

1564—The 18th of Februerie wages or dieats of
Sir Percivall Hart's Sons the Officers and Tayllors
paynttars workinge uppon
div^s [divers] Cities and Towns and the
Emperours Pallace & other Deviffes car-
vars m̄cers for farsnett and other stuff &
Lynen Drappars for canvas to cov^r
[cover] the Towns with all and other
pvicions for a playe maid by Sir Percival
Hartts Sones wt. a maske of huntars and
div^s [divers] deviffes and a Rocke or hill
ffor the 9 Muffes to finge uppon wth. a
vayne of farsnett drawn upp and downe
before them &c. - - - 57 10 —

1564—Shroftid ffollowinge wages or dieats of the
Gentillmen Officers and Tayllors payntars workinge
of the Innes uppon the Townes and Charretts for the
of Court Goodesses and divrs. deviffes as the He-
Diana Pallasvens and Clowds and foure masks too of
them not occupied nor sene wth. thare
hole furniture wch. be verie fayr and
Riche off old stuff butt new garnished
wth. frence and tassells to seme new and
divrs. shoves made by the Gentillmen of
Greys līne m̄cers [merciers] for farsnett
and other stuff Silkwomen for frence
and tasselles Lynen Drappers for canvas
ppertie makers and other pvicions and
necessaries - - - 115 — 7.

dramatick representations into the most perfect form.

When we throw our eyes upon the scenick pastimes of those days, we see that Queen Elizabeth was chiefly entertained by children; by the children of Paul's; by the children of Westminster; by the children of the chapel; and by the children of Windsor. The truth is, that our drama first took its rise in the schools; which were settled in the monasteries, or were established in the Universities.⁹ The sock, and the buskin, passed, by an easy transition, from the school boys to the singing boys. As early as the year 1430, the choristers, or eleemosinary boys of Maxtoke-priory, near Coventry, acted a play every year.¹ Henry the VIIth was entertained, in a similar manner, by the choristers of Winchester, in 1487.² Henry the VIIIth, Edward the VIth,³ and Mary, were, in their turns, dramatically amused by singing boys. As early as the year 1378, the choristers of St. Paul's cathedral, in London, petitioned Richard the IIId,

Eyrringe [airing] Repayringe in Aprill followinge and Translatinge of divrs. garments wth. thare provicions and necessaries for the same - - -

10 8 3.

444 10 11.

It is to be remembered, that the marginal notes are in Lord Burleigh's hand; and that the *Roman* numerals of the original document are converted into *Arabick* numerals, for convenience.

⁹ Warton's *Hist. of Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 388-9.

¹ *Ib.* 390.

² *Ib.* Vol. I. p. 206.

³ *Ib.* Vol. II. p. 391.

that he would prohibit ignorant persons from acting *The History of the Old Testament*, which the clergy of that church had prepared, at a great expence, for publick representation, during the ensuing Christmas. From acting *mysteries*, these choristers passed, by a gradual progress, to the performance of more regular dramas.⁴ They became so famous for the superiority of their scenick skill, that they were sent for, whenever great entertainments were given in the country; in order to contribute, by their mimick art, diversion to *the Briton reveller*.⁵

The children of St. Paul's were the favourite actors, at the accession of Elizabeth: And, in consequence of their celebrity, and success, they at length found imitators, and rivals, in the children of Westminster, in the children of the Chapel,⁶ and in the children of Windsor; who all continued to entertain Elizabeth while she lived; though much seldomer towards the conclusion of her reign, as the established actors, necessarily, gained a superiority over them in the art, and its accommodations.⁷

⁴ Id.

⁵ Warton's *Hist. of Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 391.

⁶ In June, 1552, Richard Bower, the master of the King's children of the chapel, was authorised to take up as many children as he might think fit, to serve there from time to time. [Strype's *Mem.* Vol. II. p. 539.] Richard Bower, who had been master of the children of the chapel, under Henry the VIIIth, and Edward the VIth, was continued in that office, on the 30 Apr. 1559, with a salary of £.40. a year. [Rym. *Fæd.* Tom. XV. p. 517.] Commissions issued in the 4th, 9th, and 39th of Elizabeth "to take up well singing boys, for furnishing the Queen's chapel." [Lysons's *Environs*, Vol. I. p. 92.]

⁷ I here subjoin a chronological list of the several payments to *those CHILDREN*, as the rewards of their performances, which were gleaned from the council registers:

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Whether those choristers were always *children* may admit of some doubt. The word *child* had

10th Janry 1562-3—Paid Sebastian Westcott, master
of the children of Paul's £.6 13 4

18th Janry 1564-5—Paid Sebastian Westcott, master
of the children of Pauls, for
a play on Christmas last - 6 13 4

12th Janry 1566-7—Paid Sebastian Westcott, master
of the children of Pauls, for
two plays on Christmas last - 13 6 8

13th Febry 1566-7—Paid John Taylor, master of the
children of Westminster, for
a play on Shrovetide last - 6 13 4

12th Janry 1572-3—Paid Richard Ferraunt, master of
the children of Windsor, for a
play on St. John's day last - 6 13 4

Do. —Paid Sebastian Westcott, master
of the children of Pauls, for a
play on New years day last - 6 13 4

Do. —Paid John Honnys, Gent. master
of the children of the chapel,
for a play on Twelfth day last 6 13 4

29th Febry 1572-3—Paid the master of the children
of Westminster, for a play on
Shrove-tuesday last - 6 13 4

10th Janry 1573-4—Paid Sebastian Westcott, for a
play at Christmas last - 6 13 4

10th Janry 1573-4—Paid Richard Ferraunt, for a
play at Christmas last - 6 13 4

29th Decr. 1575 —Paid the master of the children
of Windsor, for a play on St.
John's day last - 10 —

7th Janry 1575-6—Paid Sebastian [Westcott] master
of the children of Pauls, for
a play at Twelfth day last 10 —

20th D^o 1576-7—Paid the children of the chapel,
for a play in Christmas holy-
days last - - - 6 13 4

D^o —Paid the children of Pauls for a play
in Christmas holydays last - 6 13 4

formerly a very different signification, than it has lately had; as we may learn from our *old English*

And by way of reward £.2 10.		
to each of them	- - -	5 —
20th Feby 1576-7—Paid the master of the children		
of Pauls	- - -	6 13 4
And by way of reward 5 marks.		
16th Janry 1578-9—Paid the children of Pauls	}	
—Paid the children of the chapel		
Warrants issued, but no sums mentioned.		
12th March 1577-8—Paid Richard Ferraunt, master		
of the children of Windsor,		
for a play on Shrove Monday		
last	- - -	6 13 4
And by way of reward	-	3 6 8
25th Janry 1579-80—Paid the master and children of		
the chapel	- - -	6 13 4
And by way of reward	-	3 6 8
25th Janry 1579-80—Paid the master and children of		
Pauls	- - -	10 —
30th Janry 1580-1—Paid the master of the children of		
Pauls, for a play on Twelfth		
day	- - -	10 —
13th Feby 1580-1—Paid the master of the children		
of the chapel, for a play on		
Shrove Sunday last	-	6 13 4
And by way of reward	-	3 6 8
1st Aprill 1582—Paid the master of the children of		
the chapel, for two plays on		
the last of December and		
Shrove-tuesday	- - -	20 marks.
And by way of reward	-	20 nobles.
24th April 1582—Paid the children of Pauls, for a		
play on St. Stephen's day last	10	—
9th April 1588—Paid Thomas Giles, master of the		
children of Pauls, for a play		
on Shrove Sunday	-	10 —

ballads; in the same manner, as the word *bairn*, in the Scottish poets, and in Shakspeare's dramas, denotes a *youth*, as well as a child; and as the word child signifies a *youth*, and a youth of a higher rank; so *child* and *knight*, and *bairn* and *knight*, came to be synonymous; as we may perceive in the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*: Hence, the *children* of the chapel, and the *youths* of the chapel, were, really, the same, though, nominally, different. From those seminaries, some of the ablest actors were transplanted into the regular companies.⁸ Contributing so much to festivity, by their acting, they, in some measure, communicated their denomination of *children* to the professed actors, by the name of

23d March 1588-9—Paid Thomas Giles, master of the children of Pauls, for sundry plays in the Christmas holy-days	- - - - -	30	—
10th March 1589-90—Paid the master of the children of Pauls for three plays on Sunday after Christmas day, Newyears day, and Twelfth day	- - - - -	20	—
And by way of reward	-	10	—
24th June 1601 —Paid Edward Piers, master of the children of Pauls, for a play on Newyears day last	-	20 marks.	
And by way of reward	-	5 marks.	

⁸ The theatrical children were sometimes *kidnapped*, by rival masters, no doubt. One of the boys of Sebastian Westcott was, in this manner, carried away from him: And, on the 3d of December, 1575, the privy council wrote "A letter to the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Doctor Wilson; that whereas one of Sebastian's boys, being one of his principall players is lately stolen, and conveyed, from him; they be required to examine such persons as Sebastian holdeth suspected, and to proceed with such as be found faulty according to law and the order of this realm."

the children of the REVELS. By the celebrity of their performances, they even *envenomed* the established comedians with *rival-hating* envy, as we may learn from Shakspeare. During Elizabeth's reign, there had been four companies of children, who, under distinct masters, gave life to the revelry of that extended period. They continued, after the accession of King James, to exhilarate the *faint slumbers* of his peaceful reign. And, they were deemed so important, that there sometimes were granted royal patents to particular persons; empowering them, "to bring up companies of children, and youths, in the quality of playing interludes, and stage plays."⁹

⁹ The company, consisting of Robert Lee, Richard Perkins, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Basse, John Blany, John Cumber, and William Robins, who acted at *The Red Bull*, and had been the servants of Queen Anne, seem to have appropriated to themselves the name of *The Company of the Revells*. They obtained, in July, 1622, a patent, under the privy seal; authorizing them "to bring up children in the qualitie and exercise, of playing comedies and stage plays, to be called by the name of *The Children of the Revels*." [See p. 63, n. 7.] Similar patents had been conferred in former years. Such a patent was granted under the great seal, on the 17th of July, 1615, to John Daniel, gentleman, one of the prince's servants. This authority was *oppugned* and *resisted*, it seems; and thereupon was issued, in April, 1618, the following *Letter of Assistance*, which was transcribed from a copy in the paper-office; and casts some new lights on the history of the stage:—

"After our hearty commendations: Whereas it pleased his Majesty by his letters patents, under the great seal of England, bearing date the 17th day of July, in the 13th year of his Highness's reign [1615] to grant unto John Daniel, gent: (the prince his servant) authority to bring up a company of children and youths in the quality of playing interludes and stage plays. And wee are informed that notwithstanding his Majesty's pleasure therein that there are some who oppugne and resist the said authority in contempt of his Majesty's letters patents. In consideration whereof, and for the further effecting and performance

Thus have I tried to shed a few rays of brighter light on this curious subject, which had been thrown too much into shade, by the pencil of our scenick painters. Yet, have I perhaps raised, rather than gratified curiosity. And those, who find a pleasure, in reviewing the amusements of former times, may wish for more gratification, from additional notices. It was with design to gratify this reasonable desire, that I compiled a CHRONOLOGICAL LIST of such plays, as were acted by those companies of *theatrical children*, which is subjoined in the note.¹ The *chronology* was adjusted from

of his Majesty's pleasure therein; wee have thought good to grant unto the said John Daniel these our Letters of Assistance, thereby requiring you, and in his Majesty's name straightly charging and commanding you and every of you, not only quietly to permit and suffer Martin Slatier, John Edmonds, and Nathaniel Clay, (her Majesties servants) with their associates, the bearers hereof, to play as aforesaid (*as her Majesty's servants of her royal chamber at Bristol*) in all playhouses, town-halls, school-houses, and other places, convenient for that purpose, in all cities, universities, towns, and boroughs, within his Majesty's realms and dominions, freely, and peaceably, without any of your letts, troubles, or molestations: But as occasion shall be offered (they or any of them having to show his letters patents and a letter of assistance from the said John Daniel) to be likewise aiding and assisting unto them, they behaving themselves civilly and orderly, like good and honest subjects, and doing nothing therein contrary to the tenor of his Majesty's said letters patents, nor staying to play in any one place above fourteen days together, and the times of divine service on the sabbath days only excepted. Whereof fail you not at your perils:—Given at the court at Whitehall this [April 1618.]”

To all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and
other his Majesty's officers and liege subjects to
whom it may belong, or in any wise appertain.

¹ A *chronological list* of the various plays, which were presented by *the theatrical children*:—

1571—Edwards's *Damon and Pithias*; a comedy, before the Queen, by the children of her chapel.

the several dates of the successive publications; whence may be conjectured, rather than ascertained,

- 1584—Peele's *Arraynment of Paris*; before the Queen, by the children of the chapel.
- 1584—Lyly's *Alexander Campaspe* and *Diogenes*; before the Queen, on Twelfth day at night, by her Majesty's children, and the children of Paul's.
- 1591—Lyly's *Endimion, and the Man in the Moon*; before the Queen, at Greenwich, on Candlemas day, at night, by the children of Paul's.
- 1591—Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* [Phaon]; before the Queen, on Shrove Tuesday, by her Majesty's children, and the boys of Paul's.
- 1592—Lyly's *Gallathea*; before the Queen, at Greenwich, on Newyears day, at night, by the children of Paul's.
- 1594—Lyly's *Mother Bombie*; sundry times, by the children of Paul's.
- 1594—Marlowe and Nash's *Dido Queen of Carthage*; by the children of her Majesty's chapel.
- 1600—Lyly's *The Maids Metamorphosis*; by the children of Paul's.
- 1600—Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, or *The Fountain of Self Love*, by the children of the Queen's chapel.
- 1600—*The Wisdom of Dr. Dodypoll*; by the children of Powle's.
- 1601—Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis*; first played by the children of Paul's; now by the children of the chapel.
- 1601—Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*; by the children of the Queen's chapel.
- 1601—*Jack Drum's Entertainment*, or *Pasquil and Katherine*, by the children of Powle's.
- 1602—Dekker's *Satiromastix*; or *The Untrussing of the Humorous Poet*; publicly acted by the Lord Chamberlain's servants; and privately, by the children of Paul's.
- 1602—Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*; by the children of Paul's.
- 1602—Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, by the children of Paul's.
- 1605—Chapman's *Eastward Hoe*; at Blackfriars, by the children of her Majesty's Revels.
- 1605—Marston's *Dutch Courtezan*; at Blackfryers, by the children of the Revels.
- 1606—Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive*, by the children of Blackfryers.

when each play was acted. Amid other novelties, it is curious to remark, that none of the many plays,

- 1606—Marston's *Parifitaster*, or *The Fawne*; at Blackfryers, by the children of the Revels.
- 1606—Day's *Isle of Gulls*; at Blackfryers, by the children of the Revels.
- 1606—*Sir Gyles Goofecappe Knight*; by the children of the chapel.
- 1607—*The Puritan*, or *The Widow of Watling Street*; by the children of Paul's.
- 1607—Dekker's *Westward Hoe*; by the children of Paul's.
- 1607—Dekker's *Northward Hoe*; by the children of Paul's.
- 1607—Middleton's *Phoenix*; by the children of Paul's.
- 1607—Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*; by the children of Paul's.
- 1607—Beaumont and Fletcher's *Woman Hater*; by the children of Paul's.
- 1607—*Cupid's Whirligig*; by the children of the Revels.
- 1608—Middleton's *Family of Love*; by the children of his Majesty's Revels.
- 1608—Middleton's *A Mad World my Masters*; by the children of Paul's.
- 1608—Day's *Humour out of Breath*; by the children of the King's Revels.
- 1608—Day's *Law Tricks*, or *Who would have Thought*; by the children of the Revels.
- 1608—Machin's *Dumbe Knight*; by the children of the Revels.
- 1609—Armin's *History of the Two Maids of More-clacke* [Mortlake]; by the children of the King's Revels.
- 1610—Mason's *Turk*; by the children of the Revels.
- 1610—Sharpham's *Fleire*; at Blackfryers, by the children of the Revels.
- 1611—Barry's *Ram Alley*, or *Merrie Tricks*; by the children of the King's Revels.
- 1612—Field's *Woman is a Weathercock*; before the King, at Whitehall, and at Whitefryers, by the children of her Majesty's Revels.
- 1615—Beaumont's *Cupid's Revenge*; by the children of the Revels.
- 1620—May's *Heire*; by the company of the Revels.
- 1622—Markham's and Sampson's *True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater*; acted at the Red Bull, by the company of the Revels.
- 1633—Rowley's *Match at Midnight*; by the children of the Revels.

which were presented by the children of Paul's, and the children of the Chapel, before the year 1571, have been preserved, at least been published; and none of the plays are said to have been acted by *the children of the revels*, subsequent to the year 1633. An attention to this date would carry the inquirer into *the gloom of puritanism*: And, from authority, he would be told:

“ You cannot *revel* into *dukedom*s there.”

Thus much, then, for the children of St. Paul's, of Westminster, of Windsor, of the Chapel, and of the *Children of the Revels*. As early as the reign of Henry the VIIIth, French players appeared in London, though not as an established company; for we see nothing of them in the subsequent reigns. The Italian language became as much the object of cultivation, during Elizabeth's reign, as the French had ever been, or is at present. And, Italians showed their tricks, daily, in our streets, and exhibited their dramas, often, in our halls:² In January, 1577-8, Droufiano, an Italian *commediante*, and his company, were authorised by the privy council, to play within the jurisdiction of the city of London. It does not, however, appear, that there was then

² A letter was written, on the 14th of July, 1573, by the privy council to the Lord Mayor of London, “ to permit certain Italian *players*, to make show of an instrument of *strange motions* within the city.” This order was repeated on the 19th of the same month; the privy council marvelling that he did it not at their first request.—The *instrument of strange motions* was probably a theatrical *automaton*.—On the 13th of January, 1577-8, the privy council wrote to the Lord Mayor, “ to give order, that one Droufiano, an Italian, a *commedeante*, and his company, may play within the city and liberties of the same, between that day, and the first week in Lent.”

any settled company of *foreign* players; though Lord Strange's *tumblers* may have had strangers among them.

As soon as the acting of plays became a profession, jealousy of abuse made it an object of regulation. Accordingly, in 1574, the puritanick zeal, or the prudential caution of the Lord Mayor, Hawes, procured various bye-laws of the common-council, to regulate the representation of plays, within the city of London.³ Yet, this zeal was not wholly approved of at Whitehall. And the privy council wrote the Lord Mayor, on the 22d of March, 1573-4, "to advertize their Lordships what causes he hath to restrain playes; to the intent their Lordships may the better answer such as desire liberty for the same."⁴

The year 1574 is probably the epoch of the first establishment of a regular company of players. It was on the 10th of May, 1574, that the influence of the Earl of Leicester obtained for his servants, James Burbadge, John Parkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wilson, a license under the privy seal, "to exercise the faculty of playing, throughout the realm of England."⁵ Leicester was not a man who would allow the Queen's grant to be

³ Strype's Stow, Vol. I. p. 299-300.

⁴ The council regist. of that date.

⁵ A copy of the patent has been already printed, p. 48, by Mr. Steevens, who found it among the unpublished papers of Rhymer in the British Museum. The next license, for acting generally, was granted by an *open warrant*, on the 29th of April, 1593, "to the plaiers, servants to the Earl of Suffex; authorizing them to exercise their quality of playing comedies and tragedies, in any county, city, town or corporation, not being within seven miles of London, where the infection is not, and in places convenient, and times fit." [Council regr. of that date.]

impugned, or his own servants to be opposed. And, his influence procured, probably, directions from the privy council to the Lord Mayor, on the 22d of July, 1574, "to admit the comedy players within the city of London; and to be otherwise favourably used."⁶

But, the zeal of the Lord Mayor neither darkened the gaiety of the city, nor obstructed the operations of the players, so much as did the *plague*; which, in that age, frequently afflicted the nation with its destructive ravages. During several years of Elizabeth's reign, the privy council often gave directions for restraining players, within the city and its vicinage; on account of the frequent pestilence, which was supposed to be widely propagated, by the numerous concourse of people, at theatrical representations. It is to this cause that we ought to attribute the many orders which were issued under the prudent government of Elizabeth, with regard to players; and which are contradictory in appearance, more than in reality: When the city was sickly, the playhouses were shut; when the city was healthy, they were opened; though dramatick entertainments were not always allowed in the dog-days.

Among those expedient orders, the privy council required the Lord Mayor, on the 24th of December, 1578, "to suffer the children of her Majesty's chapel, the servants of the Lord Chamberlain, of the Earl of Warwick, of the Earl of Leicester, of the Earl of Essex, and the children of Paul's, and no companies else, to exercise plays within the city;

⁶ On the same day a passport was granted "to the players to go to London [from the court] and to be well used on their voyage" [journey].

whom their Lordships have only allowed thereunto, by reason that *the companies aforenamed* are appointed to play this Christmas before her Majesty." Yet, it is said,⁷ that there were then, within the city *eight* ordinary places, for playing publickly, to the great impoverishment of the people.

No sooner was the drama protected by the wise ministers of Elizabeth, who distinguished, nicely, between the use, and the abuse, of every institution, than plays, and players, were persecuted by the Puritans, whose enmity, may be traced up to the publication of *the Laws of Geneva*, which prohibited stage plays, as sinful.⁸ In 1574, *A form of Christian Policy* was drawn out of the French, and dedicated to Lord Burleigh, by Geoffry Fenton.⁹ Gosson printed his *School of Abuse*, in 1578, which was dedicated to Sir Philip Sydney, by whom it was disdainfully rejected. In 1579, John Northbrooke published *A Treatise*, wherein *dicing, dauncing, vaine plaies, or enterludes*, with other *idle pastimes* were reprovved.¹ Stubbes exhibited his *Anatomie of*

⁷ Stockwood's Sermon, 1578, quoted, p. 51, n. 6.

⁸ A translation of the Geneva laws was published at London, in 1562: "Plays and games are forbidden," says the code.

⁹ Of this book, the whole of chapter the 7th was written to prove "that mynstrels are unworthy of the fellowship of townsmen; that puppet players are equally unworthy; that players were cast out of the church; that all dissolute playes ought to be forbidden." Yet, he admits, "*comical and tragical* shoves of schollers, in moral doctrines, to reprove vice, and extol virtue, to be very profitable."

¹ Mr. Malone says this treatise was published *about* the year 1579; *about* the year 1580. I have two copies of Northbrooke's treatise, which prove, that it was published in 1579, as Herb. Typ. An. Vol. II. p. 991-1117, 1148, show, that it was licensed in 1578, and 1577.—Prynne asserts, that it was printed by authority, of which there seems to be no evidence. The notices

Abuses, in 1583 ; showing the *wickedness* of *stage playes*, and *enterludes*. The churches continually refounded with declamations against the *stage*. And, in 1592, the *vanity*, and *unlawfulness*, of *plaies*, and *enterludes*, were maintained, in the university of Cambridge, by Doctor Rainolds, against Doctor Gager, the celebrated dramatist. This academical controversy was soon followed by a kind of theatrical *rescript* in the form of a letter to the vice chancellor of Cambridge,² from the privy council, dated at

of Northbrooke's treatise must be, therefore, referred to a period, antecedent to the year 1577.

² A letter of the same tenor, and date, was sent to the Vice Chancellor of Oxford. [Council register, 29th July, 1593.] The following is a copy of the letter from the privy council to the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge :—

“ Whereas the two universities of Cambridge, and Oxford are the nurseries to bring up youth in the knowledge and fear of God, and in all manner of good learning and virtuous education, whereby after they may serve their prince and country in divers callings ; for which respect especial care is to be had of those two universities, that all means may be used to further the bringing up of the youth that are bestowed there in all good learning, civil education, and honest means, whereby the state and common wealth may hereafter receive great good. And like causes to be used, that all such things as may allure and intice them to lewdness, folly and vicious manners, whereunto, the corruption of man's nature is more inclined, may in no wise be used or practised in those places, that are schools of learning and good nurture. We therefore as counsellors of state to her Majesty, amongst other things concerning the good government of this realm, cannot but have a more especial regard of these principal places, being the fountain from whence learning and education doth flow, and so is derived into all other parts of the realm. And for that cause understanding, that common players do ordinarily resort to the university of Cambridge, there to recite interludes and plays, some of them being full of lewd example and most of vanity, besides the gathering together of multitudes of people, whereby is great occasion also of divers other inconveniences. Wee have thought good to require you the Vice Chancellor with the assistance of the heads of the colleges, to take special order

Oatlands, on the 29th of July, 1593 ; the same year, in which appeared the *first heir* of Shakspeare's *invention*.

From this outcry against the drama, loud as it was, and long as it continued, some good effects resulted ; as there did from a similar outcry, which was raised by Collier against the stage, in more modern times. As early as 1578, the privy council endeavoured, though not with complete success, to prevent the acting of plays, during *Lent*.³ This

that hereafter there may be no plays or interludes of common players be used or set forth either in the university, or in any place within the compass of five miles, and especially in the town of Chesterton being a village on the water side, nor any shows of unlawful games, that are forbidden by the statutes of this realm. And for the better execution hereof you shall communicate these our letters to the mayor or mayors of the town of Cambridge for the time being, with the rest of the justices of the peace, within five miles of the said town, and that no other justices may give license to the contrary, who shall likewise by virtue hereof be required as well as you to see the tenor of these our letters, put in due execution, every one of you in your several jurisdictions. Moreover because we are informed, that there are divers inmates received into sundry houses in the town, whereby the town doth grow over burthened with people, being a thing dangerous in this time of infection, and that causeth the prices of victuals and all other things to be raised, and doth breed divers other inconveniences : You shall likewise by virtue hereof if your own authority be not sufficient by your charter, confer with the mayor of the said town of Cambridge of the means, and to put the same in execution how this disorder may be redressed, and to forsee hereafter that the same be in no ways suffered. Lastly, where [as] the fair of Stourbridge is at hand, which is kept a mile out of the town, in respect of the great infection and visitation of the sickness in London at this present ; you the vice chancellor shall give order as directed from us, to the mastres and heads of the colleges there, that during the time of the fair, the gates of the colleges may be kept shut, and that no scholars be permitted to repair thither."

³ On the 13th of March 1578-9, the privy council wrote to the Lord Mayor to suffer no plays to be acted, within his jurif-

folicitude, for the interests of religion, was soon after extended to the preventing of stage plays *on Sundays*.⁴ Yet, this care did not extend to the court; where plays were presented, for Queen Elizabeth's recreation, during her whole reign, on Sundays. This restriction against acting plays, on Sundays, was continued, by successive orders of the privy council, till it was at length enacted by parliament, that no plays should be presented on the Lord's-day."⁵

The players were also obstructed in the exercise of their profession by orders, which originated from a less pious source, and deprived of their profits, by injunctions, which proceeded from a less disinterested motive. The royal *bearward* found, that the people who are entitled to praise for such a preference, took more delight in stage-playing, than in *bear-baiting*; their *second sight* foreseeing, no

dition, during *Lent*, until it be after *Easter*. A similar letter was written, on the 11th of March 1600-1; requiring the Lord Mayor, "not to fail in suppressing plays, within the city, and the liberties thereof, especially at *Pauls*, and in the *Blackfriars*, during this time of *Lent*."

⁴ The privy council wrote to the justices of Surrey, on the 29th of October 1587, "that whereas the inhabitants of Southwark had complained unto their Lordships, that the order sent down by their Lordships for the restraining of plaies and interludes, within the county *on the Sabbath daies* is not observed; and especiallie within the *Libertie* of the *Clinke*, and within the *parish of St. Saviours*, in *Southwark*; they are required to take such strict order, for the staying of the said disorder, as is already taken by the Lord Mayor, within the libertie of the citie; so as the same be not hereafter suffered, at the times forbidden, in any place in that county." A similar letter was written, on the same day, to the justices of Middlesex: Yet, Mr. Malone is of opinion, that the acting of plays on Sundays was not restrained till the reign of King James.

⁵ By 1 Ch. I. ch. i.

doubt, that Shakspeare was at hand, to justify their choice: Accordingly, in July, 1591, an order was issued by the privy council⁶ that there should be no plays, publickly, showed on *Thursdays*; because, on *Thursdays*, *bear-baiting*, and such like pastimes, had been *usually* practised. In this manner, were the ministers of Elizabeth, at times, gravely, and wisely, occupied.

By those various causes, were the players, who had no other profession, deprived of their livelihood; by the recurrence of pestilence, by the intervention of *Lent*, by the return of *Sunday*, and by the competition of *bearwards*. On the 3d of December, 1581, the players stated their case to the privy council; represented their *poor estates*, as having no other means to sustain their wives, and children, but their exercise of playing; showed, that the *sickness* within the city *were well slack*; and prayed that their Lordships would grant them license to use their playing as heretofore: The privy council, thereupon, for those considerations, and

⁶ The privy council, on the 25th of July, 1591, wrote from Greenwich, to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the justices of Middlesex, and Surrey:—"Whereas heretofore there hath been order taken to restrain the playing of interludes and plays on the Sabbath-day, notwithstanding the which, (as wee are informed) the same is neglected to the prophanation of this day; and all other days of the week in divers places the players do use to recite their plays to the *great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-baiting*, and like *pastimes*, which are maintained for her Majesty's pleasure, if occasion require: These shall be therefore to require you not only to take order hereafter, that there may no plays, interludes, or comedies be used or publickly made and shewed either on the Sundays, or on the Thursdays, because on the *Thursdays*, these other games *usually have been always accustomed and practised*. Whereof see you fail not hereafter to see this our order duly observed, for the avoiding inconveniences aforesaid."

recollecting also, "that they were to present certain plays before the Queen's Majesty, for her solace, in the ensuing Christmas," granted their petition; ordered the Lord Mayor to permit them to exercise their trade of playing, as usual. On the 22d of April, 1582, this order was extended for a further time, and enforced by weightier considerations; *for honest recreation sake* and in respect, that *her Majesty sometimes taketh delight in these pastimes.*⁷ Yet, the privy council did not, in their

⁷ The following is the proceeding of the privy council from their register of the 3d of December, 1581:—"Whereas certain Companies of Players heretofore using their common exercise of playing within and about the city of London, have of late in respect of the general infection within the city been restrained by their Lordships commandment from playing: the said players this day exhibited a petition unto their Lordships, humbly desiring, that as well in respect of their poor estates having no other means to sustain them, their wives and children, but their exercise of playing, and were *only brought up from their youth in the practice and profession of musick and playing*: as for that the sickness within the city were well slack'd, so that no danger of infection could follow by the assemblies of people at their plays: It would please their Lordships therefore to grant them license to use their said exercise of playing, as heretofore they had done. Their Lordships thereupon for the considerations aforesaid, as also for that they are to present certain plays before the Queen's Majesty for her solace in the Christmas-time now following, were contented to yield unto their said humble petition; and ordered that the Lord Mayor of the city of London should suffer and permit them to use and exercise their trade of playing in and about the city as they have heretofore [been] accustomed upon the week-days only, being holidays or other days so as they do forbear wholly to play on the Sabbath-day either in the forenoon or afternoon, which to do they are by this their Lordships order expressly denied and forbidden."—On the 25th of April, 1582, the privy council wrote the Lord Mayor of London the following letter:—"That whereas heretofore for sundry good causes and considerations their Lordships have oftentimes given order for the restraining of plays in and about the city of London, and nevertheless of late, *for honest recreation sake in*

laudable zeal for *honest recreation*, depart, in the least, from accustomed prudence; requiring, as essential conditions of removing those restrictions, that the *comedies and interludes be looked into* for matter, which might breed corruption of manners; and that fit persons might be appointed, for allowing such plays only, as should yield no example of evil. We shall find, in our progress, that regular commissioners were appointed in 1589, for reviewing the labours of our dramatists; for allowing the fit, and rejecting *the unmannerly*; which appointment seems

respect that her Majesty sometimes taketh delight in these pastimes their Lordships *think it not unfit* having regard to the season of the year and the clearness of the city from infection to allow of certain companies of players to exercise their playing in London, partly to the end they might thereby attain to the more perfection and dexterity in that profession the rather to content her Majesty, whereupon their Lordships permitted them to use their playing untill they should see to the contrary and foreseeing that the same might be done without impeachment of the service of God, restrained them from playing on the Sabbath-day: And for as much as their Lordships suppose that their honest exercise of playing to be used on the holydays after evening-prayer as long as the season of the year may permit and may be without danger of the infection will not be offensive *so that if care be had that their comedies and interludes be looked into, and that those which do contain matter that may breed corruption of manners and conversation among the people be forbidden.* Whereunto their Lordships wish there be appointed some fit persons who may consider and allow of such plays only as be fit to yield honest recreation and no example of evil. Their Lordships pray his Lordship to revoke his late inhibition against their playing on the holydays, but that he do suffer them as well within the city as without to use their exercise of playing on the said holydays after evening prayer only, forbearing the Sabbath-day according to their Lordships said order, and when he shall find that the continuance of the same their exercise, by the increase of the sickness and infection, shall be dangerous, to certify their Lordships and they will presently take order accordingly."

to be, only, a systematick improvement of Queen Elizabeth's ecclesiastical injunctions, in 1559.

Of such players, and such companies, that incited *honest merriment*, during Elizabeth's days, and were regarded as objects of consideration, by some of the wisest ministers, that have ever governed England, who would not wish to know a little more? The children of St. Paul's appear to have formed a company, in very early times. At the accession of Elizabeth, Sebastian Westcott, was the master of those children. With his boyish actors, he continued to entertain that great Queen, and to be an object of favour, and reward, till the year 1586. He was succeeded, as master of the children of Paul's, by Thomas Giles, who, in the same manner tried to please, and was equally rewarded for his pains. Thomas Giles was succeeded, in 1600, by Edward Piers, as the master of the children of Paul's, who was to instruct them, in the theory of musick, and direct them "to hold, as 'twere, the mirrour up to nature." The establishment of the children of her Majesty's *honourable chapel* seems to have been formed on the plan of that of the children of St. Paul's. Richard Bower, who had presided over this honourable chapel under Henry VIIIth, continued to solace Elizabeth, by the singing, and acting, of the children of the chapel, till 1572. Richard Bower was then succeeded, in his office, and in those modes of pleasing, by John Honnys. This master was followed by William Hunnis, one of the gentlemen of the chapel; who, not only endeavoured to gladden life, by the acting of his children, but to improve it, by the publication of the penitential psalms, with ap-

propriate musick.⁸ The children of *Westminster* had for their director, John Taylor, from the year 1565, for a long succession of theatrical seasons. And, the children of *Windsor* were, in the same manner, employed by Richard Ferrant, during Elizabeth's residence there, "to ease the anguish of a torturing hour."

It was from those nurseries, that many a cyon was grafted into the more regular companies of players. During the infancy of the drama, the players were driven, by the penalties of the statutes against vagabonds, to seek for shelter under private patronage, by entering themselves, as servants, to the greater peers, and even to the middling sort of gentlemen. At the accession of Elizabeth, the Lord Robert Dudley's players became conspicuous. When, by his influence, they were incorporated, into a regular company, in 1574, their leaders were James Burbadge:⁹ John Perkyn; John Lanham; William Johnson; and Robert Wilson. None of these rose to eminence, or contributed much to the advancement of the stage. When the Earl of Leicester died, in September, 1588,

⁸ William Hunnis republished in 1597, "Seven Sobs of a sorrowful Soul for Sin;" and, in the same year, he printed "A Handful of Honisuckles."—We may here see another example how the same name was different spelt *Honnys*, and *Hunnis*.

⁹ James Burbadge, who is more known as the father of Richard Burbadge, and Cuthbert Burbadge, than for his own performances, during the infancy of the theatre, lived long in Holywell Street. He had a daughter baptized, by the name of Alice, in the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on the 11th of March, 1576-7. He was buried there, as appears by the register, on the 2d of February, 1596-7. Helen Burbadge, widow, was buried in the same cemetery, on the 8th of May, 1613; and was probably the relict of James Burbadge.

they were left to look for protection from a new master.

In 1572, Sir Robert Lane had theatrical servants, at the head of whom was Laurence Dutton, who appears to have joined the Earl of Warwick's company: but Lane's servants seem not to have long continued, either to profit, by pleasing others, or to please themselves, by profit.

In 1572, Lord Clinton entertained dramatick servants, who, as they did little, have left little for the historian of the stage to record. When the Lord Clinton died, on the 16th of January, 1584-5, those servants found shelter probably from some other peer, who like him, was ambitious of giving and receiving the pleasures of the stage.

In 1575, appeared at the head of the Earl of Warwick's company, Laurence Dutton, and John Dutton, who, as they did not distinguish themselves, cannot be much distinguished by the historian of the theatre.

In 1575, the Lord Chamberlain had a company of acting servants: whether William Elderton, and Richard Mouncafter, were then the leaders of it, is uncertain: But, Shakspeare was, certainly, admitted into this company, which he has immortalized more by his dramas, than by his acting. In 1597, John Heminges, and Thomas Pope,¹ were at the head of the Lord Chamberlain's servants,

¹ Thomas Pope, who is said to have played the part of a clown, died before the year 1600, adds Mr. Malone, p. 244. Yet, Pope made his will, which may be seen in the Prerogative-office, on the 22d of July, 1603; and which was proved on the 13th of February, 1603-4. He was plainly a man of property; who spoke familiarly, in his will, of his *plate*, and *diamond-rings*, which the players generally affected to possess. See this will in a future page.

who were afterwards retained by King James ; and long stood the foremost, for the regularity of their establishment, and the excellency of their plays.

In 1576, the Earl of Suffex had a theatrical company, which began to act at *The Rose*, on the 27th of December, 1593 ; yet, never rose to distinguished eminence.

In 1577, Lord Howard had dramattick servants, who, as they did not distinguish themselves, have not been remembered by others.

In 1578, the Earl of Effex had a company of players, who probably finished their career, when he paid the penalty of his treason, in 1601.

In 1579, Lord Strange had a company of tumblers, who, at times, entertained the Queen with *feats of activity* ; and who began to play at *The Rose*, under the management of Philip Henflow, on the 19th of February, 1591-2 ; yet, were never otherwise distinguished, than like the *strutting player, whose conceit lay in his hamstring*.

In 1579, the Earl of Darby entertained a company of comedians, which had at its head, in 1599, Robert Brown, to whom William Slye devised, in 1608, his share in the Globe.

In 1585, the Queen had certainly a company of players, which is said, without sufficient authority, to have been formed, by the advice of Walsingham, in 1581. The earliest payment, which appears to have been made to the Queen's company, was issued on the 6th of March, 1585-6. And, in March, 1589-90, John Dutton, who was one of Lord Warwick's company, and John Lanham, who belonged to Lord Leicester's, appear to have been at the head of Elizabeth's company, which must

be distinguished from the ancient establishment of the household, that received a salary at the Exchequer, without performing any duty at court.

In 1591, the Lord Admiral had a company of comedians, who began to act at *The Rose*, on the 14th of May, 1594; and who had at its head, in 1598, Robert Shaw, and Thomas Downton. Connected with them, in the management, and concerns, of the company, were Philip Henflow, and Edward Alleyn; two persons, who are better known, and will be longer remembered, in the theatrical world.² At the accession of King James, the

² Philip Henflowe was illiterate himself; yet, as he was the protector of Drayton and Dekker, of Ben Jonson, and Massinger, will never be forgotten in the annals of the stage. He rose from a low origin by prudent conduct. He married Agnes Woodward, widow, by whom he had no issue; at least none who survived him. It was by this marriage that he became connected with Edward Alleyn, the celebrated comedian; who married, on the 22d of October, 1592, Joan Woodward, the daughter of Henflow's wife. About that epoch he connected himself with the stage. He was the proprietor of *The Rose* theatre, on the Bankside. Here the Lord Strange's company, the Lord Nottingham's company, and the Lord Pembroke's company, used to play, under his prudent management. He became a proprietor of the bear-garden. He was a vestryman of St. Saviour's parish, Southwark; where he lived, and died. Henflow had the honour, with other respectable parishioners, to be one of the patentees to whom King James granted his charter in favour of St. Saviour's. He made his will on the 1st of January, 1615-16; leaving his wife Agnes his executrix, and his son *Mr. Edward Allen, Esq.* one of the overseers of it. This fact explains how the account books of Henflow, which have illustrated so many obscure points, in theatrical matters, came to Dulwich college. He appears from his will, which may be seen in the prerogative-office, to have had, at the time of making it, no connection with playhouses, plays, or players. He devised the reversion of *the Boar's-head*, and the *Bear-garden*, to his godson Philip Henflow, the son of his brother William; nor did he forget his brother John, a *waterman*. The testator was buried, as appears

theatrical servants of the Lord Admiral had the honour to be taken into the service of Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales.³

In 1592, the Earl of Hertford entertained a company of theatrical servants, who have left few materials for the theatrical remembrancer.

In 1593, the Earl of Pembroke sheltered, in the same manner, under his protection, a company of persons, who equally made a profession of acting, as a mode of livelihood, and who were more desirous of profit, than emulous of praise. This company began to play at *The Rose*, on the 28th of October 1600.

from the register, in the chancel of St. Saviour's church, on the 10th of January, 1615-16.

Edward Alleyn was born in 1566; and died in 1626, after an active life of uncommon celebrity; which has furnished ample matter for biographers to detail. Though he was a younger man than Shakspeare, he became distinguished as an actor, when that poet's dramas began to illumine the stage. From the epoch of his marriage, in 1592, he probably resided on *The Bankside*. Yet he built *The Fortune* playhouse, near Golden Lane, in St. Giles's, Cripplegate. On the 2d of March, 1607-8, Alleyn was chosen a vestryman of St. Saviour's; as Henslow was already of the same parish trust. He retired from the stage soon after the death of Henslow, in January, 1615-16. In 1619, he founded Dulwich college. He lived on till November, 1626, in the same course of prudent respectability; perfecting that great act of his life: visiting the good; and receiving the visits of the great. In the course of my theatrical researches, I have often observed, that charity is the last act of a player.

³ We may learn from Birch's *Life of Prince Henry*, Appx. p. 455, the names of his players:

Thomas Towne	Anthony Jeffes
Thomas Downton	Edward Colbrande
William Byrde	William Parre
Samuel Rowley	Richard Pryone
Edward Jubye	William Stratford
Charles Massye	Francis Grace
Humphrey Jeffes	John Shanke.

The Earl of Worcester had also a company of theatrical servants, who, at the accession of King James, had the honour to be entertained by Queen Anne, in the same capacity.

Thus, we see, in this slight enumeration, fifteen distinct companies of players; who, during the protracted reign of Elizabeth, and in the time of Shakspeare, successively gained a scanty subsistence, by *lascivious pleasing*. The demise of the Queen brought along with it the dissolution of those companies, as retainers to the great: And, we shall find, that the accession of King James gave rise to a theatrick policy, of a different kind. The act of parliament,⁴ which took away from private persons the privilege of licensing players, or of protecting strolling actors, from the penalties of vagrancy, put an end for ever to the scenick system of prior times.

This subject, though curious, has hitherto remained very obscure. A laudable curiosity still requires additional information, which can only be furnished, by the communication of new notices, in a distinct arrangement. This, I have endeavoured to perform, by compiling a *chronological series* of the several payments, which were made, from time to time, by Elizabeth's orders, to those various companies, for their respective exhibitions: And, this *chronological series*, I have subjoined in the marginal note; because it will show more clearly, than has yet been done, in which company Elizabeth oftenest "took delight;" on what days she enjoyed this recreation; and what she gave for each day's enjoyment; whether that delight was communicated, by the acting of the players, *the feats*

⁴ 1 James I. ch. vii.

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of the tumblers, or the groffer sports of the bear-garden.⁵

⁵ A CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES of Queen Elizabeth's payments, for plays acted before her : [From the council-regrs.]

On the 10th January 1562-3, to Lord Dudley's players, for a play, presented before her this Christmas	£.6 13 4
18th January 1564-5, to the Earl of Warwick's players for two plays, presented before her last Christmas	13 6 8
12th January 1572-3, to Lawrence Dutton, and his fellows, servants to Sir Robert Lane, Knight, for presenting a play before her on last St. Stephen's day, at night	6 13 4
29th February 1572-3, to Lawrence Dutton, and his fellows, for presenting a play before her on Shrove Sunday, at night	13 6 8
7th January 1573-4, to the Earl of Leicester's players for two plays, presented before her	13 6 8
And by way of her Majesty's reward for their charges, &c.	6 13 4
10th January 1573-4, for two plays presented be- fore her this Christmas, viz.	
To Lord Clinton's men	6 13 4
To William Elderton's	6 13 4
22d February 1573-4, to the Earl of Leicester's players, for presenting a play before her the 21st instant	6 13 4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	3 6 8
18th March 1573-4, to Richard Mouncafter, for two plays presented before her on Candlemas day, and Shrove-tuesday last	
	20 marks.
And further for his charges	20 marks.
29th December 1575, to the Earl of Leicester's players, for presenting a play before her, on Candlemas-day, at night	10 — —
2d January 1575-6, to the Earl of Warwick's players, for presenting two plays before her, on St. Stephen's day, and New year's day last, at night	20 — —

While the actors were chiefly children; and while the theatrical companies were noblemen's

On the 7th January 1575-6, to the Lord Chamberlain's			
players, for a play presented before her, on			
Candlemas-day, at night	- -	10	— —
11th March 1575-6, to Richard Mouncafter, for			
presenting a play before her, on Shrove Sun-			
day last	- - - -	10	— —
11th March 1575-6, to Lawrence Dutton and John			
Dutton, servants to the Earl of Warwick,			
for presenting a play before her, on Shrove			
Monday last	- - - -	10	— —
20th January 1576-7, for two plays presented be-			
fore her, in the Christmas holydays last, viz.			
To the Earl of Warwick's players	-	6	13 4
To the Earl of Leicester's players	-	6	13 4
And to each of them by way of her Majesty's re-			
ward £.10	- - -	20	— —
3d February 1576-7, to the Earl of Suffex's			
players, for a play presented before her, on			
Candlemas-day last	- - -	6	13 4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	10	— —
20th February 1576-7, for two plays presented be-			
fore her, on Shrove Sunday, and Monday			
last; viz.			
To the Earl of Warwick's players	-	6	13 4
To the Lord Chamberlain's players	-	6	13 4
And by way of her Majesty's reward, to each of			
them—5 marks.			
9th January 1577-8, to the Earl of Leicester's			
servants, for a play presented before her, in			
the Christmas holydays	- -	6	13 4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	3	6 8
9th January 1577-8, to Lord Howard's servants,			
for a play presented before her	-	6	13 4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	3	6 8
14th March 1577-8, to the Lord Chamberlain's			
players, for a play on Candlemas-day last		10	— —
16th January 1578-9, for four plays, presented be-			
fore her Majesty, viz.			
One by the Lord Chamberlain's players.			

fervants; the theatres, on which they presented their interludes, and displayed their various powers

Two by the Earl of Leicester's players
One by the Earl of Warwick's players.

On the 13th March 1578-9, to the Lord Chamberlain's players, for a play presented before her, on Shrove-tuesday - - - 6 13 4

And by way of her Majesty's reward - 3 6 8

13th March 1578-9, to the Earl of Warwick's players, for a play presented before her, on Shrove Sunday - - - 6 13 4

And by way of her Majesty's reward - 3 6 8

18th March 1578-9, to the Earl of Warwick's players, for a play that should have been played on Candlemas-day last - 6 13 4

25th January 1579-80, for four plays presented before her, including the reward to each of them, viz.

To the Lord Chamberlain's players - 10 — —

To the Earl of Leicester's players - 10 — —

To the Earl of Warwick's players - 10 — —

To the Lord Straunge's tumblers - 10 — —

23d February 1579-80, to the Lord Chamberlain's players, for a play presented before her, on Candlemas-day last - - - 6 13 4

And by way of her Majesty's reward - 3 6 8

23d February 1579-80, to the Lord Chamberlain's players, for presenting a play before her, on Shrove-tuesday last - - - 6 13 4

And by way of her Majesty's reward - 3 6 8

23d February 1579-80, to the Earl of Darby's players, for a play presented before her, on Sunday the 14th instant - - - 6 13 4

And by way of her Majesty's reward - 3 6 8

30th January 1580-1, to Ralph Bowes, master of her Majesty's game of Paris garden, for bringing the said game before her, on St. John's-day, at Christmas last - - - 5 — —

20th January 1580-1, for three plays, presented before her, viz.

of performance, could not have been very large, or commodious. When Queen Elizabeth did her

To the Earl of Suffex's men for a play on St. John's day at night	-	10	—	—
To the Earl of Leicester's servants for a play on St. Stephen's day	-	10	—	—
To the Earl of Darby's men for a play on New year's day	-	10	—	—
On the 13th February 1580-1, to the Earl of Leicester's servants, for a play presented before her, on Shrove-tuesday	-	6	13	4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	3	6	8
13th February 1580-1, to the Lord Chamberlain's servants, for a play presented before her, on Candlemas day last	-	6	13	4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	3	6	8
2d July 1581, to Edward Bowes, the master of her Majesty's game of Paris garden, for two re- presentations of the said game before her, at Whitehall, on the 23d of April, and 1st of May last	-	10	—	—
21st January 1581-2, to Edward Bowes, master of her Majesty's game of Paris garden, for presenting the said game before her, at West- minster, the 4th, 6th, 7th, and last day of December	-	20	—	—
21st January 1581-2, to the Lord Strange's ser- vants, for sundry feats of activity, shewed before her on Childermas day last	-	5	—	—
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	5	—	—
6th March 1585-6, to her Majesty's players for a play presented before her, on Shrove Sun- day	-	10	—	—
4th March 1587-8, to her Majesty's players, for three plays presented before her, at Christmas and Shrovetide	-	20	—	—
27th February 1588-9, to the Lord Admiral's players, for two interludes, presented before her Majesty, on the Sunday after Christmas day, and Shrove Sunday last	-	20	—	—

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best, to entertain the French ambassador, with her
tayllors, payntors, silkwemen, and drappars, “ to

On the 16th March 1588-9, to her Majesty's players, for two interludes presented before her, on St. Stephen's day, and Shrove Sunday	-	20	—	—
10th March 1589-90, to the Lord Admiral's ser- vants, for certain feats of activity, shewed before her, on the 23 December last	-	6	13	4
Also for a play presented before her, on Shrove- tuesday last	-	6	13	4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	6	13	4
15th March 1589-90, to <i>John Dutton</i> and <i>John Lauhon</i> [Lanhem] two of the Queen's play- ers, for two interludes, shewed before her, on St. Stephen's day, and Shrove Sunday last	20	—	—	—
5th March 1590-1, to her Majesty's players, for four interludes, presented before her, on St. Stephen's day, Sunday after Newyear's day, 'Twelfth day, and Shrove Sunday	-	26	13	4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	13	6	8
5th March 1590-1, to the said players, for shewing an interlude before her, on New Year's day last	-	6	13	4
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	3	6	8
D°. to the Lord Admiral's servants, for two plays, presented before her, on St. John's day, and Shrove-tuesday last	-	13	6	8
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	6	13	4
20th February 1591-2, to the Earl of Hertford's servants, for a play presented before her, on Twelfth night last	-	10	—	—
D°. to Lord Strange's servants, for six plays, pre- sented before her, at Whitehall—viz.—St. John's Day; Innocents Day; New Year's Day; Sunday after Twelfth Day; Shrove Sunday; and Shrove Tuesday	-	40	—	—
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	20	—	—
D°. to the Earl of Suffex's servants, for a play presented before her, on Sunday after New Year's day, the 2d of January last	-	10	—	—
27th February 1591-2, to her Majesty's players,				

garnish the old garments to make them seme fresh againe;" and with all her houses, and clouds,

for a play presented by them before her, on St. Stephen's day last	-	-	-	10	—	—
On the 7th March 1592-3, to Lord Strange's servants, for three plays presented before her Majesty at Hampton-court, viz. St. John's Night; New Year's Eve; and New Year's day	-	20	—	—		
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	10	—	—		
11th March 1592-3, to the Earl of Pembroke's servants, for two plays presented before her Majesty at court, viz. on St. John's day, at night, and Twelfth day, at night	-	13	6	8		
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	6	13	4		
27th November 1597, to John Hemings and Thomas Pope, servants to the Lord Chamber- lain, for fix interludes, presented before her Majesty, in the Christmas holydays last	-	40	—	—		
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	20	—	—		
3d December 1598, to John Hemings and Thomas Pope, servants to the Lord Chamberlain, for four interludes, presented before her Majesty	26	13	4			
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	13	6	8		
D°. to <i>Robert Shaw</i> , and <i>Thomas Downton</i> , servants of the Earl of Nottingham, for two plays presented before her	-	13	6	8		
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	6	13	4		
18th February 1599-100, to John Hemings, for three interludes, shewed before her, by the Lord Chamberlain's servants, viz. on St. Ste- phen's day, at night, Twelfth day, at night, and Shrove Sunday, at night	-	20	—	—		
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	10	—	—		
D°. to <i>John Shawe</i> for two plays presented be- fore her, by the Lord Admiral's servants, on St. John's day, and New Year's day	-	20	marks.			
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	6	13	4		
D°. to <i>Robert Browne</i> , for a play presented be- fore her, by the Earl of Darby's servants, on Shrove-tuesday, at night	-	6	13	4		
And by way of her Majesty's reward	-	5	marks.			

and hills, and other devices, she appears neither to have made any splendid show, nor furnished any adequate accommodations. The children of St. Paul's probably exhibited their pastimes in the hall of their own school-house. The regular companies had only the publick inns, within the city of London, where they could please by acting, and obtain their subsistence by pleasing.

The year 1570 has been marked, by our theatrical historians, as the probable epoch, of the first erection of regular playhouses. As early as the year 1576, there certainly existed a building, which was appropriated to scenick representations, and was emphatically called *THE THEATRE*. It was probably situated in the Blackfriars, without the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction.⁶ Before the year 1583, *theatres* and *curtaines* were familiarly known, and puritanically reprobated, as *Venus palaces*.⁷

On the 11th March 1600-1, to John Hemings, for three
interludes, presented by the Lord Chamber-
lain's servants, at Christmas last

- 30 — —

⁶ The privy council on the 1st of August, 1577, wrote to Lord Wentworth, to the Master of the Rolls, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, "that for avoiding the sickness from the heat of the weather, they take immediate order, as the Lord Mayor had done within the city, that such players as do use to play without the city, within that county [Middlesex] as *the Theatre*, and such like, shall forbear any more to play until Michaelmas be past."

⁷ Stubbs's *Anatomy of Abuses*, 1583, sign. LV. Stubbs immediately subjoins, "For proof whereof, but marke the flocking and running to *theaters* and *curtens*, daylie and hourelly, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to see playes and enterludes, where such wanton gestures, such bawdie speeches; such laughing and fleering: such kissing and buffing: such clipping and culling: such winkinge and glancinge of wanton eyes, and the like is used, as is wonderful to behold."—We may easily sup-

Before the year 1586, there was a playhouse at Newington-butts, in the county of Surrey, which was denominated the *Theatre*.⁸ The passion for theatrical representations was, at that time, become excessive; as we may learn, indeed, from Stubbs's *Anatomy of Abuses*: So there were managers, who endeavoured to gratify the popular passion for scenick amusement, by erecting theatres. But, it is not easy to calculate the number of playhouses, in those days, nor to ascertain their sites. It seems, however, certain, that, while the beams of Shakspeare's fun brightened the stage, there were seven principal theatres in London, and its suburbs: The *Globe* on the Bankside, the *Curtain* in Shoreditch, the *Red-Bull* in St. John's Street, and the *Fortune* in White-cross Street; the Theatre in Blackfriers, the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and a more private playhouse in Whitefriers: Add to these the several theatres, which had, in the mean time, arisen in St. Saviour's parish from this passion of the people, who laudably preferred the sentimental pleasure of the drama, to the savage entertainment of bear-baiting.

But, this preference, which encreased the number of theatres, gave offence to those, who wished to influence the people, in their religious opinions, and to direct them, in their social conduct. A violent outcry was, now, raised against the number of playhouses. Complaints were repeatedly made

pose, Stubbs did not so much design to draw a picture, as to daub a caricature.

⁸ The letters of the privy council, dated the 11th of May, 1586; directing *the theatres* to be shut up, for preventing pestilence.

to the privy-council,⁹ of the manifold abuses, that had grown from the *many* houses, which were employed in, and about London, for common stage plays. These complaints were, at length, fully considered by the privy-council. The wise men, who composed the councils of Elizabeth declared, that *stage-playing was not evil in itself*. They distinguished between the use, and the abuse, of salutary recreations, in *a well governed state*. And they determined, “as her Majestie sometimes took delight in seeing, and hearing the stage plays,” to regulate the stage, by reducing the number of theatres, and increasing their usefulness. For these ends, the privy-council, who did not distrust their own power, issued, on the 22d of June, 1600, an order “for the restraint of the immoderate use of playhouses,” which, as it does honour to their wisdom, and is curious in itself, I have subjoined in a marginal note.¹

⁹ The vestry of St. Saviour's, Southwark, where so many playhouses had been erected, thought fit to order, on the 19th of July, 1598, “that a petition shall be made to the bodye of the councell, concerning the playhouses in this parish; wherein the enormities shall be shewed that comes thereby to the parish; and that in respect thereof they may be dismissed and put down from playing: And that iij or ij of the churchwardens &c. shall present the cause with a collector of the Borough-side, and another of the Bankside.” As the playhouses were not put down, the same vestry tried to derive a profit from them, by tything them; and on the 28th of March, 1600, “It was ordered, that the churchwardens shall talk with the players for *tithes* for their playhouses, and for the rest of the new tanne houses, near thereabouts within the liberty of *the Clinke*, and for money for the poore according to the order taken before my Lords of Canterbury, London, and Mr of the Revels.” [These curious extracts were copied from the parish-register.]

¹ An order of the privy council for the restraint of the num-

In this theatrical edict of the privy-council, we see the wisdom of Elizabeth's ministers. They

ber of playhouses. [From the council-register of the 22d of June, 1600.]

“Whereas divers complaints have been heretofore made unto the Lords and others of her Majesty's privy-council, of the manifold abuses and disorders that have grown and do continue by occasion of many houses, erected, and employed *in*, and *about*, the city of London, for common stage plays: And now very lately by reason of some complaints exhibited by sundry persons against the building of the like house in or near Golding-lane, by one Edward Allen, a servant of the right honorable the Lord Admiral, the matter as well in generality touching all the said houses for stage plays, and the use of playing, as in particular, concerning the said house now in hand to be built in or near Golding-lane, hath been brought into question and consultation among their Lordships. Forasmuch as it is manifestly known, and granted that the multitude of the said houses, and the mis-government of them, hath been and is daily occasion, of the idle, riotous, and dissolute living of great numbers of people, that leaving all such honest and painful course of life as they should follow, do meet and assemble there, and of many particular abuses and disorders that do thereupon ensue. And yet nevertheless it is considered that the use and exercise of such plays (not being evil in itself) may with a good order and moderation, be suffered in a well-governed state: And that her Majesty being pleased sometimes to take delight and recreation in the sight and hearing of them, some order is fit to be taken, for the allowance and maintenance of such persons as are thought meetest in that kind to yield her Majesty recreation and delight, and consequently of the houses that must serve for publick playing to keep them in exercise. To the end therefore that both the great abuses of the plays and playing-houses may be redressed, and yet the aforesaid use and moderation of them retained; The Lords and the rest of her Majesty's privy-council, with one and full consent have ordered in manner and form as followeth:—

First—That there shall be about the city two houses and no more, allowed to serve for the use of the common stage plays; of the which houses, one shall be in Surrey, in that place which is commonly called *the Bankside* or thereabouts, and the other in Middlesex.—And for as much as their Lordships have been informed by Edmund Tilney Esqr. her Majesty's servant and

allowed *the use* of theatres, but endeavoured, by corrective regulations, to prevent *the abuses* of

Master of the Revels, that the house now in hand to be built by the said Edward Allen, is not intended to increase the number of the playhouses but to be instead of another (namely the Curtain) which is either to be ruined, and plucked down, or to be put to some other good use, as also that the situation thereof is meet and convenient for that purpose: It is likewise ordered, that the said house of Allen shall be allowed to be one of the two houses, and namely for the house to be allowed in Middlesex for the company of players belonging to the Lord Admiral, so as the house called the Curtain be (as it is pretended) either ruined, or applied to some other good use. And for the other house to be allowed on Surrey side, whereas their Lordships are pleased to permit, to the company of players, that shall play there, to make their own choice, which they will have, of divers houses that are there, choosing one of them and no more. And the said company of players, being the servants of the Lord Chamberlain that are to play there, have made choice, of the house called *The GLOBE*; it is ordered, that the said house and none other shall be there allowed: And especially it is forbidden that any stage plays shall be played (as sometimes they have been) in any common inn for publick assembly in or near about the city.

Secondly—Forasmuch as these stage plays, by the multitude of houses and company of players have been so frequent not serving for recreation, but inviting and calling the people daily from their trade and work to mispend their time. It is likewise ordered, that the two several companies of players assigned unto the two houses allowed, may play each of them in their several house twice a week, and no oftener; and especially they shall refrain to play on the Sabbath-day, upon pain of imprisonment and further penalty: And that they shall forbear altogether in the time of Lent, and likewise at such time and times as any extraordinary sickness or infection of disease shall appear to be in or about the city.

Thirdly—Because the orders will be of little force and effect unless they be duly put in execution, by those unto whom it appertaineth to see them executed: It is ordered that several copies of these orders shall be sent to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the justices of the peace of the counties of Middlesex, and Surrey, and that letters shall be written unto them from their Lordships, strictly charging them to see to the execution of the same,

them ; acknowledging, in the language of John Taylor, the water-poet :

“ For, plays are good, or bad, as they are us'd ;
 “ And, best inventions often are abus'd.”

For all the salutary purposes of *honest recreation*, they deemed two playhouses sufficient ; one in Middlesex, which was to be *The Fortune* ; and one in Surrey, to be *The Globe* : And, foreseeing that those regulations would be of little effect, without enforcement, either for enjoying the use, or correcting the abuse, of many playhouses, the privy-council wrote letters from Greenwich, on the 22d of June, 1600, to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the justices of Middlesex, and of Surrey ; urging them, by every proper motive, to carry those wise regulations into effectual execution.² Owing to whatever cause, whether want of authority, in the magistrates, or want of inclination in the men, these orders of the privy-council were not executed. The disorders of the playhouses rather increased, than diminished. The mayor, and aldermen of London, felt the grievance, without being able to apply the remedy : For, they were neither urged, by the clamour of the multitude, nor supported, by the voice of the people ; who now relished theatrical amusements, as they were better accommodated, in the many new playhouses, and better gratified by the representation of Shakspeare's

as well by committing to prison any owners of playhouses, and players, as shall disobey and resist these orders, as by any other good and lawful means that, in their discretion they shall find expedient, and to certify their Lordships from time to time as they shall see cause of their proceedings herein.”

² Council register of the 22d June, 1600.

dramas. The privy-council did not so much partake of the scenick enthusiasm of the people, as they viewed the popular concourse to scenick representations, in the light of a political disorder; which, having increased under restraint, required correction, rather than countenance. In this spirit, they wrote a stronger letter to the Lord Mayor, and aldermen, of London, on the 31st of December, 1601; reprehending past neglects, and requiring future compliance with the former orders.³ The

³ The following is a transcript of the letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, from the council register of the 31st of December, 1601:

“ We have received a letter from you, renewing a complaint of the great abuse and disorder within and about the city of London, by reason of the multitude of playhouses, and the inordinate resort and concourse of dissolute and idle people daily unto publick stage plays; for the which information, as wee do commend your Lordship because it betokeneth your care and desire to reform the disorders of the city: So wee must let you know, that we did much rather expect to understand that our order (set down and prescribed about a year and a half since for reformation of the said disorders upon the like complaint at that time) had been duly executed, than to find the same disorders and abuses so much increased as they are. The blame whereof, as we cannot but impute in great part to the justices of the peace or some of them in the counties of Middlesex, and Surrey, who had special direction and charge from us to see our said order executed, for the confines of the city, wherein the most part of those playhouses are situate: So wee do wish that it might appear unto us, that any thing hath been endeavoured by the predecessor of you the Lord Mayor, and by you the aldermen, for the redress of the said enormities, and for observation and execution of our said order within the city: We do therefore once again renew hereby our direction unto you (as we have done by our letters to the justices of Middlesex, and Surrey) concerning the observation of our former order, which wee do pray and require you to cause duly and diligently to be put in execution for all points thereof, and especially for the expresse and streight prohibition of any more playhouses, than those two that are mentioned and allowed in the said order: Charging and straitly commanding all

privy-council, on the same day, wrote, with a sharper pen, to the justices of Middlesex, and Surrey, letters of reproof, rather than directions, in these energetick terms: "It is in vain for us to take knowledge of great abuses, and to give order for redress, if our directions find no better execution, than it seemeth they do; and we must needs impute the blame thereof to you, the justices of peace, that are put in trust to see them performed; whereof we may give you a plain instance in the great abuse continued, or rather increased, in the multitude of playhouses, and stage plays, in, and about, the city of London.⁴"

In those proceedings, for restraining the number of playhouses, and checking the popular concourse to scenick entertainments, a discerning eye may perceive, that stage plays, rather than the English stage in general, had risen to great, though not to the greatest splendour. At the demise of Elizabeth, Shakspeare had produced two and twenty of his immortal dramas. The commission, which Elizabeth established, in 1589, for revising plays, before Shakspeare's appearance, as a dramatist, had an obvious tendency to form the chastity of his muse; as the chastity of Shakspeare's muse had the

such persons as are the owners of any of the houses used for stage plays within the city, not to permit any more public plays to be used, exercised, or showed from henceforth in their said houses: and to take bonds of them (if you shall find it needful) for the performance thereof, or if they shall refuse to enter into bonds, or to observe our said order, then to commit them to prison, untill they shall conform themselves thereunto: And so praying you, as yourself do make the complaint, and find the enormity, so to apply your best endeavour to the remedy of the abuse."

⁴ Council register of that date.

same tendency to reform the popular taste. To this pure source of refinement, and of pleasure, we may trace the popular passion for theatrical representations, which the ministers of Elizabeth regarded as a disorder, requiring necessary reform. The concourse of the people to the playhouse enabled the managers of them, first, to furnish simple accommodation, then to give greater convenience, and lastly, to superadd ornamental splendour: This progress of improvement, we may remark, drew still more the popular resort; while more ample recompense supplied the means of higher gratification to the multitudes, who, at the demise of Elizabeth, found in theatrical representations their greatest amusement.

Such are the various views, which those new notices give of the stage, in England, at every step of its progress. As Scotland was inhabited, during every period, by people of the same lineage, its laws, its customs, and its amusements, were, in every age, nearly alike. When the warlike sports of the field were fashionable among the valorous people of England, tournaments, and other martial pastimes, were the delight of the hardy inhabitants of Scotland.⁵ When London had its *abbot of misrule*, Edinburgh had its *abbot of unreason*;⁶

⁵ Arnot's Edin[~]. 71: "William the Lion, who died in 1212, gave to the citizens of Edinburgh a valley, on the road to Leith, for the special purpose of holding tournaments and other manly feats of arms.

⁶ Arnot's Edin[~]. 77. In 1555, the parliament of Scotland passed an act "Anentis Robert Hude and Abbot of Un-reason;" whereby it was ordained, "that in all times cummyng, na maner of person be chosen Robert Hude, nor Little John, Abbot of Unreason, Queenis of May, nor otherwise, nouthir in burgh, nor to Landwart." [Skenes Actes, 1597, p. 150.] Those sports

when the citizens of London amused themselves with the festive feats of Robin Hood, the citizens of Edinburgh diverted themselves with the manly exercises of *Robert Hude*;⁷ and while the youth of London rose in tumult, when their sports were restrained, the *bairns*⁸ of Edinburgh ran into insurrection, when an attempt was made, at the æra of the Reformation, to suppress *the game of Robin Hood*. In Scotland, the drama held the same course, as in England, from rudeness to refinement; beginning with *scriptural MYSTERIES*;⁹ improving with *MORALITIES*; and *finishing off* with *monarchicke TRAGEDIES*.¹

It was not at Edinburgh alone, that *the Abbot of Unreason* practised his *rustick revelry*. At Aberdeen, a city, noted in every age for hilarity, they had in very early times, an Abbot of *Bonne-Acorde*,²

of the field were surely very harmless, perhaps salutary: But, the *moralities*, which, at that very epoch, were set forth by Sir David Lyndsay, were certainly in the highest degree obscene in their representation, and immoral in their tendency.

⁷ Id.

⁸ Let no minute commentator remark the *Scotticism* of that good old *English* word, which is sometimes used by Shakspeare and Ben Jonson.

⁹ Ib. 75.

¹ Lord Stirling's Works.

² "1445 April the 30th: The council and many of the gild-brethren for letting and *stanching* of divers enormities done in time bygone by the *abbots* of the *burgh* called of *bone acorde* [proposed] that in time coming they will giue no fees to no such abbots; and for this instant year they will haue no such abbot, but that the alderman for the time and any baillie he chuses to take with (joint til) him to supply that *faute* (want)." [MS. extracts from the city records of Aberdeen.] The Abbot of *Bonne Acorde* was, however, so agreeable to the people, that he continued long after to gratify them yearly with publick sports: And

who gratified the citizens with a play; a scriptural play, or *mystery*.³ About a century after the acting of the *mystery* of the *Haliblude* on the *Wyndmyllhill*, at Aberdeen, Sir David Lyndsay exhibited his *moralities* upon the Castlehill, near Cowpar-in-Fife. The sarcasm of the satirist was chiefly levelled at the *prelats*, the *monks*, and the *nuns*, who were exhibited, as extremely worthless: But, what must have been the coarseness of the barons, the dames, and the monarch, who could hear such ribaldry, without indignation, and see such obscenity, without a blush.⁴

A reformation was, however, at hand, which is said to have been brought forward, full as much by the *moralities* of Lindsay, as by the *sermons* of Knox. The Church of Scotland, as it adopted its

the fees which were objected to in 1445, were afterwards settled at *ten merks* a year. [City records, 7th August, 1486.]

³ On the 22d of October, 1445, Thomas Lawson was received as a burgher of Aberdeen; a privilege which was lately granted him, when he was abbot of *bonne acorde*, for his expences laid out by him in a certain play [*ludo*] *de ly haliblude apud ly Wyndmill hill*. [MS. extracts from the city records, which were written, in those times, partly in low Latin, and partly in Norman French.]

⁴ It appears from Leland's *Collectanea*, Vol. IV. p. 300, as Mr. Malone has indeed remarked, that when the marriage of James the IVth with Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry the VIIth, was celebrated at Edinburgh, in 1503, "after dynnar a *moralitie* was played by the said Master Inglishe and his companyons, in the presence of the King and Qwene, and then daunces were daunced." Yet, the historian of the stage seems not to have adverted, that Master Inglishe, and his companyons, with menstrells of musick, accompanied Margaret from Wyndfor-castle to Holyrood-house. [lb. 267, 280, 289.] I have, however, shown from the evidence of records, the existence of similar plays, in Scotland, upwards of half a century before that memorable epoch.

fundamental principles, from the religious practices of Geneva, at the same time assumed its enmity to dramattick exhibitions. It is, nevertheless, certain, that a company of players performed at Perth, in June, 1589. In obedience, indeed, to the act of the assembly, which had been made in 1575,⁵ they applied to the consistory of the church, for a licence; shewing a copy of their play: And, they were, accordingly, permitted to act the play, on condition, however, that no swearing, banning, nor any scurrility shall be spoken, which would be a scandal to religion, and an evil example to others.⁶ Thus, it appears, that the church of Scotland adopted analogous measures to the judicious regulations of the wise ministers of England, at the same epoch; by allowing *the use*, but preventing *the abuse* of dramattick exhibitions. As a scholar, and a poet, King James admired the drama. And, *some English comedians* coming to Edinburgh, in 1599, he gave them a licence to act, though he

⁵ "By the General Assembly begun and holden at Edinburgh the 7th day of March 1574:

"It is thought meet and concludit yat na clerk playes, comedies or tragedies be maid of ye cannonicall Scriptures alsweil new as auld on Sabboth day nor wark day in time coming. The contravenars hereof (if they be ministers) to be secludit fra yr function and if they be utheris to be punishit be ye discipline of ye kirk; and ordains an article to be given in to sikk as fitts upon ye policie yat for uther playes comedies tragedies and utheris profaine playes as are not maid upon authentick pairtes of ye Scriptures, may be considerit before they be exponit publictlye and yat they be not played upon ye Sabboth dayes." [From the MS. "Buik of the Universal Kirk of Scotland quhairin ye heides and conclusions devysit be the ministers and commissioners of the particular kirks thair of are specially exprestit and containit."

⁶ An Account of Perth, 1796, p. 40, by the Rev. Mr. Scott, who quotes the old records for the facts.

thereby offended the *ecclesiasticks*, who wanted not such provocation to disturb his government.⁷

Yet, plays and players may be considered, as *sightless substances*, in Scotland, during that age. Nor, has diligence been able to show in the Scottish literature, any thing like a comedie, historie, or tragedie, from the revival of learning, to the accession of King James. The *scurrilities* of Lyndsay can no more be considered as legitimate dramas, than the *scurril jests* of Skelton, "a sharpe satirist, indeed," says Puttenham, "but with more rayling and scoffery than became a poet laureat."⁸ *Philotus*, which, when originally printed, in 1603, was entitled, "Ane verie excellent, and delectabill *Treatise*," was called a *comedie*, when it was republished in 1612. The marriage of *Philotus*, as we see it, in this rhapsodical *colloquy*, can scarce be called a *wedding mannerly modest*: Nor ought we to be sur-

⁷ Archbishop Spottiswood gives the following account of that transaction: "In the end of the year [1599] happened some new jars betwixt the King and the ministers of Edinburgh; because of a company of English comedians, whom the King had licensed to play within the burgh. The ministers being offended with the liberty given them, did exclaim in their sermons against stage-players, their unruliness and immodest behaviour; and in their sessions made an act, *prohibiting people to resort unto their plays, under pain of the church censures*. The King, taking this to be a discharge of his license, called the sessions before the council, and ordained them to annul their act, and not to restrain the people from going to these comedies: Which they promised, and accordingly performed; whereof publication was made the day after, and all that pleased permitted to repair unto the same, to the great offence of the ministers." [*History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 457.] In this account, there seem to be implied two points; that King James did not send for the English comedians; and that there was not any company of Scottish comedians, in Scotland, during his reign.

⁸ *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, p. 50.

prized, that the church of Scotland preferred a *sad funeral feast*, to the coarse and immodest dialogues which were presented on the *playfield* to an unenlightened people. But Lord Stirling was now *weaving warp, and weaving woof, the winding-sheet* of obscene plays: And, the *monarchicke tragedies*, which must be allowed to have sentiments that sparkle, though no words that burn, were entitled to the honour of James's acceptance, and to the higher honour of Shakspeare's adoption.

The historian of the English stage has aptly divided his subject into *three* periods: The *first*, from the origin of dramatick entertainments, to the appearance of Shakspeare's dramas; the *second*, during the illumination of the scene, by the sun of Shakspeare; and the *third*, from the time that this great luminary ceased to give light, and heat, and animation to the theatrick world. Of the first of those periods, much has already been said; of the second, something remains to be added; and of the last, little need be remarked: It has been my constant endeavour, as it will be my subsequent practice, to add the new to the old, rather than to make the old seem new.

The demise of Elizabeth gave a different order to the several parts of our theatrical arrangements. King James is said "to have patronized the stage with as much warmth, as his predecessor:" But, after all the inquiries, which have been hitherto made, it has remained unknown, that a kind of theatrick revolution took place, on the arrival of James from Scotland. While he was bestowing grace on every rank, he showed particular favour to *the actors*.⁹ He accepted the Lord Chamberlain's

⁹ There is the following passage in Gilbert Dugdale's *Time*

servants, as his own ; the Queen retained the Earl of Worcester's servants, as her's ; and Prince Henry took the Earl of Nottingham's players, for his dramattick servants. King James arrived, at the Charterhouse, London, on the 7th of May, 1603 ; which may be deemed the epoch of that revolution. On the 19th of May he granted the *license*, which was first published by Rhymer, in 1705, to his *servants*, Laurence Fletcher, William Shakspeare, Richard Burbadge, Augustine Phillipps, John Hemings, Henrie Condell, William Slye, Robert Armin, and their associates, " freely to exercise the faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage plaies, as well within their *now usual* house, called the *Globe*, as within any convenient places, in any city, and universitie, within his kingdoms, and dominions." Ample, and favourable, as this license was to *those servants*, it did not give them any exclusive privilege, which could prevent the actors of the Queen, or the servants of the Prince, from acting similar plays, within his realms ; though they were thus distinguished by the royal license. Of such players, who were still more distinguished, as the original actors of Shakspeare's characters, it

Triumphant, which was printed by R. B. [Robert Barker] in 1604, signr. B :—" Nay ; see the bounty of our all kind soveraigne ; not only to the indifferent of worth, and the worthy of honour, did He freely deal about these causes : But, to the mean gave grace ; as taking to himself the late Lord Chamberlain's servants, now the King's *acters* ; the Queen, taking to her the Earl of *Worster's* servants, that are now her *acters* ; and the Prince, their *sonne* Henry, Prince of Wales, full of hope, took to him the Earl of Nottingham his servants, who are now his *acters* ; so that of Lord's servants, they are now the servants of the King, Queen, and Prince."

may gratify curiosity, to know a little more of the life, and end.

LAURENCE FLETCHER.

Of this personage, who now appeared at the head of the King's servants, in the royal license of 1603, Mr. Malone, the historian of our stage, has said nothing. Fletcher was probably of St. Saviour's, Southwark; where several families of the name of Fletcher dwelt, as appears from the parish register. He was placed before Shakspeare and Richard Burbadge, in King James's license, as much perhaps by accident, as design. Augustine Phillips, when he made his will, in May, 1605, bequeathed to *his fellow*, Laurence Fletcher, twenty shillings. And *this fellow* of Phillips, and of Shakspeare, was buried in St. Saviour's church, on the 12th of September, 1608.¹ It does not appear that he ever published any work, either in prose or verse.

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

The great outlines of the life of this illustrious dramatist are sufficiently known. He was born on the 23d of April, 1564; and died, where he was born, on the 23d of April, 1616. Early in life, before he could have acquired any profession, he became a husband, and a father. Whether he ever

¹ The parish register records that event in the following manner: "1608, September 12th [was buried] Laurence Fletcher, a *man*, in the church." I could not find, in the prerogative office, either a will of the deceased, or any administration to his estate.

removed his family to London is uncertain.² At what time he first visited London is still more uncertain. He certainly rose to excellence as a player, before the year 1591: And he began to produce those dramas, which have eternized his name, about the year 1591. He was celebrated as a poet in 1594. He became greatly distinguished as a dramatist, before the demise of Elizabeth. He was adopted as one of the theatrical servants of King James: And he was placed the second in the list of those players who were specified in the royal license of 1603. In 1605, Augustine Phillips, by his will, recollected Shakspeare, as *his fellow*, and bequeathed him "a thirty shilling piece in gould," as a tribute of affec-

² Aubrey has preserved a tradition which is extremely probable, that Shakspeare used to travel, once a year, from Stratford to London, and from London to Stratford: If this tradition be admitted as a fact, it would prove, with strong conviction, that he had his family at Stratford, and his business in London. If documents be produced to prove, that *one* Shakspeare, a player, resided in St. Saviour's parish, Southwark, at the end of the sixteenth, or the beginning of the seventeenth, century; this evidence will not be conclusive proof of the settled residence of Shakspeare: For it is a fact as new as it is curious, that his brother Edmond, who was baptized on the 3d of May, 1580, became a *player* at *The Globe*; lived in St. Saviour's; and was buried in *the church* of that parish: the entry in the register being without a blur, "1607 December 31, [was buried] *Edmond Shakespeare, a player*, in the church;" there can be no dispute about the date, or the name, or the *profession*. It is remarkable, that the parish clerk, who scarcely ever mentions any other distinction of the deceased, than a *man*, or a *woman*, should, by I know not what inspiration, have recorded Edmond Shakespeare as a *player*. There were, consequently, two Shakspeares on the stage, during the same period; as there were two Burbages, who were also brothers, and who acted on the same theatre. Mr. Malone has, indeed, remarked, that the burial of Edmond Shakspeare does not appear in the parish register of Stratford-upon-Avon. I have not been able to find any notice of Edmond Shakspeare, in the prerogative-office.

tion. How long he acted is uncertain ; although he continued to write for the stage till the year 1614, in which year he is said to have produced *Twelfth-Night*, his thirty fourth play. When he retired from the stage he probably disposed of his property in the theatre ; as there is no specifick bequest of his share by the testament which he made on the 25th of March, 1616.

The *will* of Shakspeare has been often published, though not always with sufficient accuracy. It is not easy to tell who, of all the admirers of our illustrious dramatist, first had the curiosity to look into his will. It is even a point of some difficulty to ascertain when, and by whom, the will of Shakspeare was first published. Mr. Malone, indeed, is studious to reprobate Theobald, for publishing it most blunderingly. It was not published by the player editors in 1623 ; nor by Rowe, in 1709 ; nor by Pope, in 1725, or 1728 ; nor by Theobald, in 1733, or 1740 ; and he died in 1744 ; nor was it published by Hanmer, in 1744 ; nor by Warburton, in 1747 : But, it was certainly published, with the original errors, in the *Biographia Britannica*,³ 1763, for the first time, I believe. Why, then, does Mr. Malone accuse Theobald, who was dead before the event, of that publication, and of those errors ?⁴

³ Volume the *Sixth* ; Part I.

⁴ Vol. I. pp 157, 159, 162. Mr. Malone says, “ that the name at the top of the margin of the first sheet was probably written by the scrivener who drew the will.” [162] The fact, however, is, that this name was written by the *entering clerk*, in the prerogative office, at the time ; as the clerks of the present day assured me ; pointing at the *Te* [*testamentum*] which is prefixed to the name ; and showing the similitude of the handwriting of the *probat*. It is true, as Mr. Malone says, that the name of Shakspeare is subscribed on the margin of the first brief

RICHARD BURBADGE.

This celebrated comedian, who was, probably, born before the year 1570, in Holywell Street, and who rose, by his talents, to the highest rank of his profession, was the son of James Burbadge, who died in February, 1596-7, and may be regarded as one of *the elders* of the English stage: Yet, he lived to enjoy one of the greatest pleasures of a parent; to see his son at the head of his profession, and admired by the world. Richard Burbadge, probably, appeared on the stage, as soon as he could speak. In the year 1589, he represented *Gorboduc*, and *Tereus*, in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*. In 1597, Richard Burbadge played the arduous character of Richard III, for the first time of its being performed. In the Cambridge comedy, called *The Return from Parnassus*, which was probably written about the year 1602, he is introduced, in his proper person; instructing a Cambridge scholar how to act Richard III. He performed the most difficult parts in Shakspeare's dramas; and was "such an actor," says Sir Richard Baker, with an unprophetick spirit, "as no age must ever look to see the like." He was an eminent partner in the Globe and Blackfriars theatres; so

of his will; but, he ought to have added, what is plainly the fact, that the name is subscribed on the margin, at the bottom of the sheet, on the left hand corner; and was obviously there subscribed by the testator for want of room on the right hand corner of the sheet. There is no other ground for Mr. Malone's insinuation, that this signature was not made by Shakspeare, except that the three signatures to the will are very different in the manner, and spelling: But, all the genuine signatures of Shakspeare are dissimilar.

that the actors, who performed there, were called *Burbadge's Company*. He was appointed by Augustine Phillips, in 1605, one of the overseers of his will. He continued to distinguish himself, and to amuse the lovers of the drama, till March, 1618-19, when he was carried off by the plague; leaving his wife Winifrid,⁵ pregnant with her seventh child, and executrix of his nuncupative will. An epitaph, which was written for him, though not inscribed on his tomb, has the following couplet:

" This man hathe now, (as many more can tell)
 " Ended his part; and he hath acted well."⁶

⁵ Winifrid, the widow, afterwards became the wife of one Robinson, (Richard Robinson the actor, there are reasons to believe,) and, together with William Burbage, (so he signs his name,) son of Richard Burbage, by indenture bearing date the 15th of May, 1639, mortgaged certain premises in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, which had belonged to Richard Burbage and Cuthbert Burbage, for one hundred pounds. The original deed, with others relating to the same premises, is in my possession. It may be here noticed, that Burbage, Heminges, and Cundall, each had a son named William, probably in compliment to Shakspeare. REED.

⁶ He was buried in the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, as the register has recorded, on the 16th of March, 1618-19.—The same register hath entered the baptisms and burials of his children, as follows; and the register, by recording the truth, shows the inaccuracy of Mr. Malone's statement. See p. 228.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Baptisms.</i>	<i>Burials.</i>
1. Richard		16th August 1607
2. <i>Julia</i>	2d January 1602-3	12th September 1608
3. Frances	16th September 1604	19th September 1604
4. Ann.	8th August 1607	
5. Winifryd	10th October 1613	14th October 1616
6. <i>Julya</i>	26th December 1614	15th August 1615
7. Sarah	5th August 1619	

Sarah is entered in the register as "the daughter of Winifrid Burbadge, widow."—The name of *Julia* was the name given

AUGUSTINE PHILLIPS

Was placed next to Richard Burbadge, in the royal license, of 1603. He was an author, as well as an actor : And left behind him some ludicrous rhymes, which were entered in the Stationers' books, in 1593, and were entitled, *The Jigg of the Slippers*. In Tarleton's *Platt of The Seven deadlie Sinns*, Phillips represented the effeminate *Sardanapalus*, in the year 1589. He is supposed to have represented characters in low life, with Kempe, and Armine, rather than royal personages, with Burbadge. Whatever he were, in the theatre, he certainly was a respectable man, in the world. He amassed considerable property by his prudence.

by the father, not *Juliet* : The name of *Juliet* was afterwards imposed by the parish clerk, when he recorded the burial of the first Julia, on the 12th of September, 1608.—This fact proves, that Mr. Malone's observation, on this point, is groundless.

Richard Burbadge had a brother Cuthbert, who did not rise to his eminence, as a comedian, but was much respected as a man. He also lived in Holywell Street, and was buried in the same parish, as appears by the register, on the 17th of October, 1636 : His wife, Elizabeth, was buried in the same cemetery, on the 1st of October, 1636 : And the grave-stone, which covered them, was removed when the new church of St. Leonard's was built. They had three children : James, who was buried in the same parish on the 15th of July, 1597 ; Walter, who was baptized on the 22d of June, 1595 ; and Elizabeth, who was baptized on the 30th of December, 1601 ; as the same register records.—In the parish-register, this celebrated name is spelt three different ways ; Burbidge, Burbadge, and Burbege ; but, most frequently Burbadge : in the register of the prerogative-office, it is written Burbeige ; so little uniformity was there, in those times, on this head ; and so little foundation for criticism, on this point ! In fact, the celebrated comedian subscribed his name Richard *Burbadg*, if we may determine from a single autograph, No. XIV. in plate ii. of Mr. Malone's *Inquiry*.

And he died at Mortlake, in Surrey, in May, 1605 ; and was buried, by his dying request, in the chancel of the church of that parish ; leaving his wife, Ann, executrix of his will, with this proviso, however, that if she married again, John Hemynges, Richard Burbadge, William Slye, and Timothie Whithorne, should be his executors. His widow did marry again : and John Hemynges immediately proved the will, on the 16th of May, 1607 ; and assumed the trust, which Augustine Phillips had reposed in him. As the will of Phillips has escaped Mr. Malone's researches, and contains many curious particulars, I subjoin, in the note, a copy, which was extracted from the registry of the prerogative-court.⁷

⁷ AUGUSTINE PHILLIPS'S WILL.

In the Name of God Amen, the fourthe daie of May Anno Dm 1605 and in the yeres of the Reigne of Or Sourigne Lorde James by the Grace of God Kinge of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland Defender of the Faithe &c, that is to say of England Fraunce and Ireland the thirde, and of Scotland the Eighte and thirtith, I Augustine Phillipps of Mortlack in the County of Surrey Gent. beinge at this pte sick and weak in body, but of good and pfecte mynde and remembrance thanks be given unto Almighty God, do make ordeyne and dispose this my prte Testament & last Will in maner and forme followinge, that is to say, Firste and principally I comende my Soule into th'ands of Almighty God my Maker Savior and Redeemer in whome and by the meritts of the second pson Jesus Christ I truste and believe assuredly to be saved and to have full cleire remission and forgiveness of my finnes, and I comitt my body to be buried in the chauncell of the pishē Church of Mortelack aforesaid, and after my body buryed and Funerall charge paide, Then I will that all suche Debts and Duetyes as I owe to any person or persons of Righte or in Conscience shal be truely paide, And that done

JOHN HEMINGES.

The earliest notice, with regard to this respectable player, is his marriage, on the 10th of March,

then I will that all and singr my Goods Chattels plate Household stufte Jewells reddy money and debts shal be devided by my Executrix and orseers of this my las^te Will and Testam^t into three equall and indefferente parts and porcōns whereof one equal parte I geve and bequeathe to Anne Phillipps my Loveinge Wife to her owne prōp use and behoufe, One other parte thereof to and amongeste my three eldeste daughters Maudlyne Phillipps, Rebecca Phillipps, and Anne Phillipps, equally amongste them to be devided porcōn and porcōn like, and to be paide and deliverd unto them as they and every of them shall accomplishe & come to their lawful ages of Twenty & one yeres, or at their daies of marriage, and ev'y of them to be others Heyre of their said pts and porcōns, yf any of them shall fortune to dye, before their said sevall ags of twenty and one yeres or daies of marriage and th'other pte thereof I resrve to my selfe and to my Executrix to pforme my Legays hereafter followinge, Item I geve and bequeathe to the poore of the pi^{sh}e of Mortlack aforesaid, Fyve pounds of lawfull money of England, to be distributed by the Churchwardens of the same pi^{sh}e within twelve monethes after my decease, Item I geve and bequeathe to Agnes Bennett my loveinge mother during her naturall life, ev'y yere yerely the Some of Fyve pounds of lawfull Money of England, to be paid her at the four usuall feasts or termes in the yere by my Executrix, out of any parte and porcōn resrved by this my prte Will, Item I geve to my Brothers Willm Webb and James Webb, yf they shall be lyevinge at my decease to eyther of them the Some of Tenne pounds a peece of lawful Money of England, to be paid unto them wthiⁿ three yeres after my decease, Item I geve and bequeathe to my Sister Elizabeth Goughe the Some of tenne pounds of lawfull Money of England to be paid her wthiⁿ One yere after my decease, Item I will and bequeathe unto Myles

1587-8, to Rebecca Knell, the widow, as I con-

Borne and Phillipps Borne two Sounes of my Sister Margery Borne to eyther of them Tenne pounds a peece of lawfull Money of England to be paid unto them when they shall accomplishe the full age of Twenty and one yeres, Item I geve and bequeathe unto Tymothy Whithorne the Sum of Twentye pounds of lawfull Money of England to be paide unto him within one yere after my decease, Item I geve and bequeathe unto and amongste the hyred men of the Company wch. I am of, which shalbe at the tyme of my decease the Some of fyve pounds of lawfull Money of England to be equally distributed amongeste them, Item, I geve and bequeathe to my Fellowe Willm Shakespeare a thirty shillings peece in gould, To my Fellowe Henry Condell one other thirty shillinge peece in gould, To my Servaunte Christopher Beeston Thirty shillings in Gould, To my Fellowe Laurence Fletcher twenty shillings in Gould, To my Fellowe Robert Armyne twenty shillings in Gould, To my fellowe Richard Coweley twenty shillings in Gould, To my fellowe Alexander Cook twenty shillings in Gould, To my fellowe Nicholas Tooley twenty shillings in Gould, Item I geve to the Preacher wch. shall preache at my Funerall the Some of twenty shillings, Item I geve to Samuell Gilborne my late apprentice, the Some of Fortye shillings and my mause colloured Velyt hose and a White Taffety Dublet a blacke taffety sute my purple Cloke Sword and Dagger and my Base Viall. Item I geve to James Sands my Apprentice the Some of Fortye shillings and a Citterne a Bandore and a Lute, to be paid and delivēd unto him at the expiracōn of his terme of yeres in his Indr. of Apprenticeshood. Item my Will is that Elizabeth Phillips my youngest daughter shall have and quietlye enjoye for terme of her natural lyfe my House and Land in Mortelacke wch. I lately purchasēd to me, Anne my wife, and to the said Elizabeth for terme of Or. lives in full recompence and satisfaction of hir pte and porcōn wch. she may in any wise challenge or demand of in and to any of my Goods and Chattels whatsoever.—And I ordaine and make the said Anne Phillips my loving Wyfe sole Executrix of this my p̄sent Testament and last

jecture, of William Knell, the comedian.⁸ As

Will provided alwaies that if the said Anne my Wyfe do at any tyme marrye after my decease, That then and from thenceforth shee shall cease to be any more or longer Executrix of this my last Will or any waies intermeddle wth. the same, And the said Anne to haive no pte or porcon of my Goods or Chattells to me or my Executors reserved or appointed by this my last Will and Testament, and that then and from thenceforth John Hemings Richard Burbage Wm Slye and Timothie Whithorne shal be fullie and whollie my Executors of this my last Will and Testament, as though the said Anne had never bin named, And of the execution of this my present Testament and laste Will I ordayne and make the said John Hemings Richard Burbage Wm Slye and Timothie Whithorne Overseers of this my prsent Testament and last Will and I bequeathe unto the said John Hemings Richard Burbage and Wm Slye to either of them my said Overseers for their paines herein to be taken a boule of Silver of the value of fyve pounds a piece. In Witness whereof to this my prsent Testament and laste Will I the said Augustine Phillipps have put my hand and Seale the day and yeare above written—

A: Phillipps (LS)

Sealed and dd by the said Augustine Phillipps as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us Robert Goffe, Wm Sheperd.—[This will was proved on the 13th of May, 1605, by Anne, the relict, and executrix; and on the 16th of May, 1607, by John Hemynges, under the condition mentioned in the will, by reason of the marriage of Anne, the widow, and executrix, before mentioned.—This will is written on two briefs, in two different hand writings: but the last brief only is signed by the testator.]

⁸ The register of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, which records this marriage, also records the marriage of William Knell with *Rebecca* Edwards, on the 30th of January, 1585-6. William Knell did not long survive the celebration of this marriage, though the register does not record his burial: But, it does record the burial of a William Knell, on the 24th of September, 1578, who was probably, the celebrated actor; and the second

early as November, 1597, he appears to have been the manager of the Lord Chamberlain's company.⁹ This station, for which he was qualified by his prudence, he held, probably during forty years. There is reason to believe, that he was, originally, a *Warwickshire lad*; a shire, which has produced so many players and poets; the Burbadges; the Shakespeares; the Greens; and the Harts. Of Heminges's cast of characters, little is known: There is only a tradition, that he performed the arduous part of Falstaff. If this were true, it would prove, what indeed is apparent in his life, that he was a man of strong sense, and circumspect humour. He was adopted, with Shakspeare, by King James, on his accession, as one of his theatrical servants; and was ranked the *fifth*, in the royal license of 1603. He seems, indeed, to have been too busy, or too wise, during a long life, to write for the publick; though he left a son, with much less wisdom and more time, who did write. It is a strong recommendation of his character, for discretion, and honesty, that he was called upon, by many friends, to perform the trust of their executor. He had the honour to be remembered in Shakspeare's will, and to be the first editor of Shakspeare's dramas. He lost his wife, who had brought him thirteen children, in 1619.¹ He himself died, at the age of seventy-five, in the parish of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, where he had lived respectably, through life; and was buried, as the parish register

William Knell, who married young Rebecca Edwards, may, possibly, have been his son, and also a player.

⁹ The council register of that date.

¹ She was buried, as the register of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, records, on the 2d of September, 1619.

proves, on the 12th of October, 1630. He left his son William, the executor of an unexecuted² will; and much property, and many kind tokens of remembrance to his relations, and *fellows*.

HENRY CUNDALL.

The origin of this honest man, rather than great actor, or celebrated writer, is unknown. He does

² The will is published p. 236. William Hemings was baptized on the 3d of October, 1602; and was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, in 1628; and in March, 1632-3, he produced a comedy entitled *The Courfing of the Hare, or The Madcap*; and afterwards wrote *The Fatal Contract*, and *The Jews Tragedy*.

The following table, which was formed from the parish register, will show more accurately than has yet been done, the births, and burials, of John Heminges's children; and will also correct the *inaccuracies* of Mr. Malone, both in the *dates*, and *persons*. He speaks of two daughters, whom the register does not record; Margaret, who is not mentioned by the register; and *Beatrice*, whom, I suspect, he has confounded with Beavis, a son; who was baptized in 1601:—

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Baptisms.</i>	<i>Burials.</i>
1 Ales [who married John Atkins 11 February 1612-13]	1st November 1590	
2 Mary - -	7th May - 1592	9 August - 1592
3 Judith - -	29th August 1593	
4 Thomasyn -	15th January 1594-5	
5 Jone - -	2d May - 1596	
6 John - -	2d April - 1598	17 June - 1598
7 John - -	12th August 1599	
8 Beavis (a son)	24th May - 1601	
9 William -	3d October 1602	
10 George - -	12th February 1603-4	
11 Rebecca -	4th February 1604-5	
12 Elizabeth -	6th March - 1607-8	
13 Mary - -	21st June - 1611	23 July - 1611

not appear so prominent, on the page of theatrical history, as Heminges; though he had appeared in the theatrical world, before the year 1589: He represented *Ferrex*, in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*. He formed one of the Lord Chamberlain's company, and was adopted, with Shakspeare and Heminges, by King James, as one of his theatrical servants: He was ranked the *sixth*, in the royal license of 1603. In 1605, Augustine Phillips bequeathed to him, as he did to Shakspeare, a *thirty shillings piece in gould*. In 1606, Cundall served the parish office of *sidesman*, in St. Mary's, Aldermanbury. Before the year 1623, he ceased to act; yet retained his property in the playhouses. With Heminges he shared the honour of the recollection of Shakspeare, in his will, and of the editorship of Shakspeare's dramas. The country residence of Cundall, for some years before his death, was Fulham. He died, however, in St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, where he had lived long: And, here he was buried, on the 29th of December, 1627. By his will he appointed his wife, Elizabeth, his executrix, and bequeathed much property, together with his shares in the Globe, and Blackfriars, theatres, to his children; besides many legacies of friendship, and charity.³

³ The will of Cundall is published p. 245. John Heminges, and Cuthbert Burbadge, were two of the overseers of the will of Cundall.

The following table, like the last, which was formed from the parish register, will show with more precision and accuracy than Mr. Malone has done, the births, and burials, of Henry Cundall's children; and will also correct the *inaccuracies* of Mr. Malone, both in the *dates* and *persons*:—

WILLIAM SLY.

Of this player much less is known than of Cundall. Before the year 1589, Sly was an actor; having in that year represented *Porrex*, in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinnes*. He was one of the Lord Chamberlain's company; and, being adopted by King James into his theatrical company, was placed the *seventh* in the royal license, among the royal players, in 1603. Sly was, in 1604, introduced personally with Burbadge, Cundall, and Lowin, in Marston's *Malecontent*, to act an introductory prologue; which, by satirizing, illustrates the manners of the age.⁴ He died, says the his-

Names.			Baptisms.	Burials.
1	Elizabeth	- -	27 February 1598-9	11 April - 1599
2	Ann	- - -	4 April - 1601	26 July - 1610
3	Richard	- -	18 April - 1602	
4	Elizabeth	- -	14 April - 1603	22 April - 1603
5	Elizabeth	- -	26 October 1606	
6	Mary	- - -	31 January 1607-8	
7	Henry	- - -	6 May - 1610	4 March - 1629
8	William	- -	26 May - 1611	
9	Edward	- -	22 August - 1614	23 August 1614

From the register, it thus appears, that Henry, and Elizabeth, Cundall, had *nine* children, instead of *eight*, as stated by Mr. Malone; that their son, Henry, was born in 1610, instead of 1600; and that *five* children survived Mr. Cundall, as he is distinguished in the register, instead of *three*; as mentioned by Mr. Malone.

⁴ Enter William Sly; and a Tire-man; following with a fool:—

“*Tire-man*.—Sir, the gentlemen will be angry, if you sit here.

“*Sly*.—Why; we may sit upon the stage, at the private house. Thou dost not take me for a *country gentleman*; dost think, I fear hissing? I'll hold my life, thou took'st me, for one of the players.

torian of the stage, before the year 1612.⁵ In May, 1605, Sly was appointed by Augustine Phillips, one of the overseers of his will. He was himself obliged to make a nuncupative will, on the 4th of August, 1608, which was proved on the 24th: He thereby bequeathed "To Jane Browne, the daughter of Robert Browne, and Sifely, his wife, the house, where he now dwelles to her &c for ever; to Robert Brown his part of *The Globe*; to James Saunder fortie pounds; the rest to Sifely Browne; making her his executrix."⁶ By a codicil, Sly bequeathed his sword, and hat, to Cuthbert Burbaige,⁷ and forty shillings, to the poor of St.

"*Tire-man*.—No; Sir.

"*Sly*.—By God's-slid, if you had, I would not have given you *six pence* for your stool. Let them, that have *stale suits*, sit in the galleries. Hiss at me! He that will be laught out of a tavern, shall seldom feed well, or be drunk, in good company. Where's Harry Condell, Dick Burbage, and William Sly? Let me speak with some of them."

Sly goes on to swear most irreverently. True, indeed, as Colley Cibber would have apologized: Lowin reproves him, and carries him off the stage. But, the statute 3. James I. ch. xxi. prevented such apologies, by imposing proper penalties on all who should profanely use the name of God, in any play.

⁵ P. 253.

⁶ Brown and Saunder were both players; though they never rose to much distinction. Saunder played *Videna*, the Queen, in *The Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*, and is confounded with Alexander [Saunders] Cooke, by Mr. Malone, who thus appears not to have known, that *Saunder* was a real actor, and a distinct person.

⁷ It was not so much the *hat*, as the *feather*, which constituted the value of this legacy; feathers being then much worn, and in great request. Marston, in *The Malecontent*, ridiculed the fashion. When Sly is on the stage, acting the prologue to *The Malecontent*, he puts his *feather* in his pocket. Burbadge asks him: "Why do you conceal your *feather*, Sir?" Sly answers him: Why! Do you think I'll have jests broken upon me, in the play, to be laughed at? This play hath beaten all young gallants

Leonard's, Shoreditch. Sly lived in Holywell-Street, among the other players, and greater personages, who then resided in that quarter, before it became the more frequent resort of meaner men. And, he was buried, in the cemetery of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, as appears by the register, on the 16th of August, 1608. William Sly, the next of kin, disputed his will, which bears a very suspicious appearance;⁸ but, was nevertheless established by the prerogative court, though the testator, when he made it, was plainly in the hands of designing persons. The legacy to Cuthbert Burbaige, who was a respectable character, and the bequest to the poor of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, were mere artifices to cover the odious design of imposing upon weakness.⁹

ROBERT ARMIN.

My researches have not enabled me to add much to the little, which is already known, with regard

“ To honest gamesome Robert Armin,

“ Who tickl'd the spleen, like a harmless vermin.”

He was certainly one of the Lord Chamberlain's players, at the accession of King James, and was

out of the *feathers*. Blackfriars hath almost spoilt Blackfriars for *feathers*.”—It is to be remarked, that the Blackfriars district was remarkable, in those days, for being inhabited by feather-makers.

⁸ It was executed in the presence of several women who could not sign their names, as witnesses.

⁹ John, the bastard son of William Sly, the player, was buried in the parish of St. Giles's, Cripplegate; on the 4th of October, 1606, as appears by the register; which states, that John was *base*, and the son of the *player*.

received, with greater actors, into the royal company. He was ranked the *eighth*, after Sly, in the King's license of 1603. As a *fellow*, Armin was affectionately remembered by Augustine Phillips, in 1605 ; who left him a legacy of twenty shillings. Armin was an author, as well as an actor : He produced in 1608, *A Nest of Ninnies simply of themselves, without Compound* ; in the same year, *Phantasm the Italian Taylor and his Boy* ; and, in 1609, a comedy called *The Two Maids of More-clacke*, [Mortlake] whether with any allusion to the family of Augustine Phillips, his fellow, I know not. He was not buried in St. Saviour's, Southwark, as we may infer from the silence of the register : Nor, have I been able to discover any will of Armin, or administration to his effects.¹

¹ Robert Armin seems to have been in the service of Lord Chandois. In an address to Lady Mary Chandois, his widow, annexed to a narrative, 4to. bl. l. by his nephew Gilbert Dugdale, of a murder committed in the county of Chester, in 1604 ; he says, " We have many giddie pated poets, that coulde have published this report with more eloquence, but truth in plaine attire is the easier knowne : let fixion make in Kendall greene. It is my qualitie to adde to the truth, truth ; and not leasings to lyes. Your good honor knows *Pincks* poore hart, who in all my services to your late deceased kind lord, never favoured of flatterie or fixion : and therefore am now the bolder to present to your vertues the view of this late truth, desiring you so to thinke of it, that you may be an honourable mourner at these obsequies, and you shall no more doe then many more have doone. So with my tendered dutie, my true ensuing storie, and my ever wishing well, I do humbly commit your ladiship to the prison of heaven, wherein is perfect freedome. Your ladiships ever in duty and service, ROBERT ARMIN." REED.

RICHARD COWLEY

Is said to have been an actor of a low class; having performed the part of *Verges* in *Much Ado about Nothing*: He probably acted such parts, as *gamesome* Armin; such characters, as required dry humour, rather than splendid declamation. In 1589, he represented the character of *Giraldus* in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*. He was, however, adopted, from the Lord Chamberlain's company, by King James into his, and was ranked the last, in the royal license of 1603. He was recognized as a *fellow* by Augustine Phillips, in 1605, and distinguished as a friend, by a legacy of twenty shillings. He lived among the other players, and among the fashionable persons of that period, in Holywell Street. "I know not when this actor died," says Mr. Malone, the historian of the stage.² He was buried, says the register of the parish, in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on the 13th of March, 1618-19,³ three days before the great Burbadge finished his career, in the same cemetery. But, my searches in the prerogative-office have not found either his will, or an administration to his estate.

Such were the nine patentees, who were named in King James's license of 1603; and who were,

² P. 253.

³ The register calls him Richard Cowley, *player*. His wife Elizabeth was buried in the same cemetery, on the 28th of September, 1616. By her he had a son, Robert, who was baptized on the 7th of March, 1595-6; a son, Cuthbert, on the 8th of May, 1597; a son, Richard, on the 29th of April, 1599, who was buried on the 26th of February, 1603-4; and a daughter, Elizabeth, was baptized on the 2d of February, 1601-2.

thereby, empowered to shew their stage plays, to their *best commoditie*. The royal license, however, was not only granted to the *nine*, who were specified; but, also “to the rest of their *associates*, freely to exercise the faculty of playing.”⁴

ALEXANDER COOKE.

It appears that this actor was the *heroine* of the stage, even before the year 1589. He acted as a woman in Jonson's *Sejanus* and in *The Fox*: And, it is thence reasonably supposed, that Cooke represented the lighter females of Shakspeare's dramas. Thus far Mr. Malone. Alexander Cooke was recollected, in 1605, as a fellow by Augustine Phillips, and distinguished as an intimate, by a legacy. He outlived Phillips nine years. On the 3d of

⁴ One of those associates, probably, and one of the actors of Shakspeare's characters was Richard Scarlet, player, who was buried, says the register, in St. Giles's, Cripplegate, on the 23d of April, 1609. Yet he is not mentioned by the historian of our stage. Another of those associates was Samuel Gilburne, who is *unknown*, says Mr. Malone. [p. 258]. But, we know, that before May, 1605, Samuel Gilburne had served his apprenticeship, as a player, with Augustine Phillips; who bequeathed him “fortye shillings, and my mouse-coloured velvet hose, and a white taffety dublet, a black taffety sute, my purple cloke, sword and dagger, and my base violl.” And herein we may see the dress, and accompaniments, of Augustine Phillips. Christopher Beeston was also an actor at *The Globe*, and the representative of some of Shakspeare's characters. He was the *servant* of Augustine Phillips, in May, 1605, and was deemed worthy of a legacy of thirty shillings in gould. He became manager of the Cockpit theatre, in Drury Lane, in the year 1624, and continued in that station till his death, in 1638-9. I have not found his will in the prerogative-office, nor any administration to his estate. He was succeeded, as manager of the King and Queen's company in Drury Lane, on the 27th of June, 1640, by William D'Avenant, gentleman.

January, 1613-14, he wrote his will, with his own hand, though he was "fick of body;" appointing his wife his executrix,⁵ and Heminges, and Cundall, and Caper, his overseers of it: He died, in April, 1614; leaving his wife, pregnant; and a son, Francis; and a daughter, Rebecca. I subjoin, in the note, a copy of his will; for it contains some curious particulars.⁶

⁵ The name of his wife is neither mentioned in his will, nor in the probat of it; when she was authorized, by the prerogative-court, to act as executrix.

⁶ THE WILL of ALEXANDER COOKE, extracted from the register of the prerogative-court of Canterbury: It is now printed, as he pointed it himself:

"In the Name of the Father the Sonne, and the holy Ghoste, I Alexander Cooke, sick of body, but in perfect minde, doe with mine owne hand write my last Will and Testament First I bequeathe my Soule into ye, hands of God my deer Saviour Jesus Christ who bought it and payd for it deerly wth. his bloud on ye. crosse next my body to ye. Earthe to be buryed after the maner of Christian buryall Item I do give and bequeath unto my Sonne Francis the Some of Fifty pounds to be delivered to him at the Age of One an twenty yeeres. Item I doe Give and bequeathe unto my Daughter Rebecca the Some of Fiftye pounds allso to be delivered to hir at the Age of Seaventeene years or at hir day of Mariage, which it shall please God to bring firste, which Somes of Money are bothe in One purse in my Cuberd Item I doe Give and Bequeathe unto the Childe which my Wife now goeth with, the Some of Fiftye pounds allso, which is in the hand of my fellowes as my share of the stock to be delivered if it be a boy, at one and twenty yeres, if a Girle, at Seaventeene, or day of Maryage, as before all whiche Somes of Moneyes, I doe intreate my Master Hemings, Mr Cundell, and Mr Frances Caper (for God's cause) to take into their hands, and see it safely put into Grocers Hall, for the use and bringinge up of my poore Orphants Item I doe further give and bequeathe unto my Daughter Rebecca the Windowe cushens made of needle worke together withe ye. Window cloathe Court Cuboard Cloathe, and Chimneye Cloathe, being all bordered about with needle worke futable, and Greene filke fringe If any of my children, dye ere they come to age, my will is yt the Survivers shall have there

NICHOLAS TOOLEY

Was also another of the unnamed *associates* of Shakspeare, Burbadge, and Heminges, at *The Globe*; and was one of the original actors of Shakspeare's characters: He too represented women, as early as 1589, and acted *Rodope* in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*: He performed in *The Alchemist*, in the year 1610. Thus much from Mr. Malone. Tooley, I suspect, from some expressions in his will, had been the apprentice, or the servant, of Richard Burbadge.⁷ Tooley, was remembered by Augustine Phillips, as a fellow, and distinguished by a legacy. He played his part, as a witness, in the last scene of Richard Burbadge's life, when *the Roscius* of that age made his will, on the 12th of March, 1618-19. Tooley, made his own will,

parte, equallye divided to ye. laft. If all my Children dye ere they come to age, my will is that my Brother Ellis or his Children fhall have One halfe of all, the other halfe to be thus divided, to my five fifters, or their Children tenn pounds apeece amongst them, my Brother John's daughter other tenne pounds, ye. rest to my Wife if she live then, if not to Ellis and his, If my brother Ellis dye ere this, and leave no Childe of his body, my will is, it fhall all be equally distributed amongst my Sisters and the Children of there bodys, only my Wive's parte reserved if she live: My Wife paying all charges of my buriall performing my Will in every poynte as I have fet downe my will is she shall enjoy and be my full and lawfull Executrix All my Goods, Chattels, Movables debbts, or whatsoever is mine in all the worlde ??? This is my last Will and Testament? In Witness whereof I have fet to my hand January the third 1613: By me Allex: Cooke:"

[This will was proved on the 4th of May, 1614, by the relict, whose name, however, is not mentioned in the probat.]

⁷ Tooley bequeathed legacies to the sister and daughter of "my late Mr. [Master] Burbadge, deceased." And he repeated this form of expression, which shows a grateful remembrance of his *old master*.

on the 3d of June, 1623 ; appointing Cuthbert Burbadge, and Henry Cundall, his executors. He died, soon after, in the house of Cuthbert Burbadge, in Holywell Street ; to whose wife, Elizabeth, the testator left a legacy of ten pounds “ as a remembrance of his love, in respect of her motherly care of him.” Tooley, appears, plainly, to have been a benevolent man. While he bustled in the world, he did many kind acts : And, when he could no longer act, he left considerable legacies to the poor of the two parishes of St. Leonard’s, Shoreditch, and of St. Giles’s, Cripplegate, which, administer to the comfort of the needy, even to the present day. He was buried, as the parish register proves, on the 5th of June, 1623, in St. Giles’s, Cripplegate.⁸

⁸ NICHOLAS TOOLEY’S WILL, extracted from the registry of the prerogative court of Canterbury. As it contains some unknown particulars of players, it may be regarded as curious :— In the Name of God Amen I Nicholas Tooley of London Gentleman being sicke in body but of perfect mynd and memorie praised be God therefore doe make and declare this my last Will and Testament in forme following that is to say First I comend my Soule into the hands of Almighty God the Father trusting and assuredlie beleeving that by the meritts of the precious death and passion of his only Sonne and my only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ I shall obtaine full and fre p̄don and forgiveness of all my Sinnes and shall enjoy everlasting life in the Kingdom of Heaven amongst the elect Children of God My Bodie I committ to the Earth from whence yt came to be buried in decent manner at the discrecon of my Executors hereunder named My Worldlie substance I doe dispose of as followeth Impris I give unto my good friend Mr. Thomas Adams preacher of God’s Word whome I doe entreate to preach my funerall Sermon the Some of tenn pounds Item I doe release and forgive unto my kinswoman Mary Cobb of London widdowe the Some of Fyve pounds wch she

WILLIAM KEMPE.

This player, who danced through life on *light fantastick toe*, is neither mentioned in the license

oweth me and I do give unto her the Some of fyve pounds more
 Item I do release and forgive unto her Sonne Peter Cobb the Some
 of Sixe pounds wch he oweth me Item I doe give unto her Sonne
 John Cobb the Some of Sixe pounds Item I do give unto her
 daughter Margaret Moseley the Some of Fyve pounds Item I
 doe give unto Mrs. Burbadge the Wife of my good friend Mr.
 Cutbert Burbadge (in whose house I doe nowe lodge) as a re-
 membrance of my love in respect of her motherlie care over me
 the Some of tenn pounds over and besides such Somes of Money
 as I shall owe unto her att my decease Item I do give unto her
 daughter Elizabeth Burbadge als Maxey the Some of tenn pounds
 To be payd unto her owne proper hands therewth all to buy her
 such thinges as she shall thinke most meete to weare in remem-
 brance of me And my Will is that an acquittance under her only
 hand and Seal shal be a sufficient discharge in Lawe to my Exe-
 cutors for payment thereof to all intents purposes and construccions
 and as fully as if her pretended husband should make and seale
 the same wth her Item I give to Alice Walker the Sister of my
 late Mr. Burbadge deceased the Some of tenn pounds to be payd
 unto her owne proper hands therewth all to buy her such thinges
 as she shall thinke most meete to weare in remembrance of me
 And my will is that an acquittance under her only hand and
 Seale shal be a sufficient discharge in Lawe to my Executors for
 the payment thereof to all intents purposes and constructions and
 as fully as if her husband should make and seale the same wth
 her Item I give unto Sara Burbadge the daughter of my said late
 Mr. Richard Burbadge deceased the Some of twenty and nyne
 pounds and thirteen shillings wch is oweing unto me by Richard
 Robinson to be recoued detayned and disposed of by my Exe-
 cutors hereunder named until her marriage or age of twenty and
 one years (wch shall first and next happen) without any allow-

of 1603, by King James, as one of his servants, nor recognized by Augustine Phillips, in 1605, as

auunce to be made of use otherwise then as they in their discrecons shall think meete to allow unto her Item I give unto Mrs. Condell the wife of my good friend Mr. Henry Condell as a remembrance of my love the Sum of fyve pounds Item I give unto Elizabeth Condell the daughter of the said Henry Condell the Some of tenn pounds Item whereas I stand bound for Joseph Tayler as his surety for payment of Tenn pounds or thereabouts My will is that my Executors shall out of my Estate pay that debt for him and discharge him out of that Bond Item I do release and forgive unto John Underwood and Willm Ecclestone all such Somes of Money as they do severally owe unto me Item I do give and bequeath for and towards the p̄ptuall reliefe of the poore people of the parish of St. Leonard in Shoreditch in the County of Midd under the Condicon hereunder expressed the Some of fourscore pounds To remayne as a stocke in the same parish and to be from tyme to tyme ymployed by the advise of the parson Churchwardens Overseers for the poore and Vestrymen of the said parish for the tyme being or the greater nomber of them In such sort as that on everie Sunday after-Morning prayer forever there may out of the encrease wch shall arrise by the ymployment thereof be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same parish Thirtie and two penny wheaten loaves for their reliefe provided allwaies and my will & mynd is that yf my said gift shalbe mis-ymployed or neglected to be p̄formed in aine wise contrarie to the true meaning of this my Will Then & in such case I give and bequeath the same Legacie of Fourscore pounds for and towards the reliefe of the poore people of the parish of St. Gyles without Cripplegate London to be ymployed in that parish in forme afore-said Item I doe give and bequeath for and towards the p̄petuall reliefe of the poore people of the said parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate London under the condicon hereunder expressed the Some of twenty pounds To remayne as a stocke in the same parish and to be from tyme to tyme ymployed by the advise of the Churchwardens Overseers for the poore and Vestrymen of

one of his fellows. Kempe is said to have been the successor of Tarleton, who was buried on the 3d of

the same parish for the tyme being or the greater number of them in such sort as that on every Sunday after Morninge prayer forever there may be out of the encrease wch shall arrise by the ymployment thereof be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same parish Eight penny wheaten loaves for their reliefe Provided alwaies and my will and mynd is that yf my said Gift shalbe misimployed or neglected to be pformed in anie wise contrarie to the true meaning of this my Will Then and in such case I give and bequeath the same legacie of twenty pounds for and towards the reliefe of the poorer people of the said parish of St. Leonard in Shoreditch to be imployed in that parish in forme afore said Item my will and mynd is and I doe hereby devise & appoynt that all and singuler the legacies bequeathed by this my will (for payment whereof no certaine tyme is otherwise limited) shalbe truly payd by my Executors hereunder named wthin the space of one yeare att the furthest next after my decease All the rest and residue of all and singular my Goods Chattels Leases Money Debtes and psonall Estate whatsoever and wheresoever (my debtes legacies and Funerall charges discharged) I doe fully and wholly give & bequeath unto my afore named loving friends Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell to be equally dyvided betweene them pte and pte like And I doe make name and constitute the said Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell the Executors of this my last Will and Testament And I doe hereby revoke & make voyd all former Wills Testaments Codicills Legacies Executors and bequests whatsoever by mee att any tyme heretofore made named given or appoynted willing and mynding that theis pdrts only shall stand and be taken for my last Will and Testament and none other In witness whereof to this my last Will and Testament conteyninge foure Sheets of paper wth my name subscribed to everie sheete I have sett my Seale the third day of June 1623 And in the one and twentieth yeare of the Raigne of or. Soveraigne Lord King James &c Nicholas Tooley Signed Sealed pronounced and declared by the said Nicolas Tooley

September, 1588, as well “ in the favour of her Majesty as in the good thoughts of the general au-

the Testator as his last Will and Testament on the day and yeares above written in the p̄ce of us the m̄ke of Anne Asplin the marke of Mary + Cober the marke of Joane + Booth the m̄ke of Agnes Dowson the m̄ke of E. B Elizabeth Bolton the m̄ke of + Faith Kempfall the m̄ke of Isabel Stanley Hum: Dyson notary public and of me Ro: Dickens Srvt. unto the said Notary Memorandum that I Nicholas Wilkinson als Tooley of London Gentleman have on the day of the date of theis p̄ets by the name of Nicholas Tooley of London Gentleman made my last Will and Testament in writing conteyninge foure sheetes of paper with my name subscribed to every sheete and sealed with my Seale and thereby have given and bequeathed divers p̄sonall legacies to divers p̄sons and for divers uses and therefore have made named and constituted my lovinge friends Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell the Executors as thereby may more at large appeare nowe for the explacon cleering avoyding and determinacon of all such ambiguities doubtes scruples questions and variances about the validite of my said last Will as may arise happen or be moved after my decease by reason of omission of my name of Wilkinson therein I doe therefore by this my p̄rete Codicil by the name of Nicholas Wilkinson als Tooley ratifie confirme and approve my said last Will and everie gifte legacye and bequest therein expressed and the Executors therein named as fully and amply to all intents purposes and construcons as If I had byn so named in my said last Will any omission of my said name of Wilkinson in my said last Will or any scruple doubt question variance misinterpretacon cavill or misconstrucon whatsoever to be had moved made or inferred thereupon or thereby or any other matter cause or thinge whatsoever to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding And I doe hereby alsoe further declare that my Will mynd and meaning is that this my p̄rdte Codicil shalbe by all Judges Magistrates and other p̄sons in all Courts and other places and to all intents and purposes expounded construed deemed reputed and taken to be as p̄te and p̄cell of my said last Will and

dience." His favour with both arose from his power of pleasing. As early as 1589, his comick talents appear to have been highly estimated by those, who were proper judges, being wits themselves.⁹ He usually represented *the clowns*, who are always *very rogues*; and, like Tarleton, gained celebrity, by his *extemporal wit*; whilst, like other clowns, Kempe raised many a *roar by making faces, and mouths, of all sorts*.¹ He probably per-

Testament As witnesses whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and Seal the thirde day of June 1623 and in the one and twentieth year of the Raigne of Or Soveraigne Lord King James &c Nicholas Wilkinson als Tooley (LS) Signed Sealed pronounced & declared by the said Nicholas Wilkinson als Tooley as a Codicil to be annexed unto his last Will and Testament on the daye and yeares above written in the presence of us Semon Drewe the mke of Isabell I S Stanley the mke of + Faith Kempfull Hum: Dyson Notary public and of me Ro: Dickens Sr̄vant unto the said Notary.—[It was proved in the prerogative court, on the 17th of June, 1624, by Cuthbert Burbadge, and Henry Cundall.]

⁹ The witty Nashe speaks of Kempe, in 1589, as the comical and conceited jestmonger, and vicegerent general to the ghost of Dicke Tarleton. [*An Almond for a Parrot.*]

¹ In the Cambridge comedy, called *The Return from Parnassus*, Kempe is introduced personally, and made to say: "I was once at a Comedy in Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite *make faces and mouths of all sorts, on this fashion*."—The Cambridge wit, we see, considered Kempe as a proper comedian to raise laughter by making mouths *on this fashion*. When Burbadge has instructed a student how to act properly, and tells him:—"You will do well after a while;" Kempe takes up the student thus: "Now for you; methinks you should belong to *my tuition*; and *your face*, methinks, would be good for a foolish mayor, or a *foolish justice of peace*: mark me."—And then, Kempe goes on, to represent a *foolish mayor*; making *faces*, for the instruction of the student.

formed LAUNCE, in the *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in 1595 ; the GRAVE-DIGGER, in *Hamlet*, in 1596 ; LANCELOT, in *The Merchant of Venice*, in 1598 ; and TOUCHSTONE, in *As you like it*, in 1600 : He appears, from the quarto plays of Shakspeare, to have been the original performer of PETER, in *Romeo and Juliet*, in 1595 ; and of DOGBERRY, in *Much Ado about Nothing*, in 1600. In the Cambridge comedy, called *The Return from Parnassus*, which is supposed to have been written about the year 1602, Burbadge, and KEMPE, were personally introduced, *to entertain the scholars at a low rate*. Kempe seems to have disappeared, at the accession of King James, when *his fellows* were rising to higher honours. Perhaps, as a *veteran*, he had retired from “the loathed stage :” Perhaps, as a mortal, the pestilence of 1603 put an end to Kempe’s *nine days wonder*. He was certainly dead, in 1618, when his *epitaph* was published :—

“ Then, all thy triumphs, fraught with strains of mirth,
 “ Shall be cag’d up within a chest of earth ;
 “ Shall be ! they are : thou hast danc’d thee out of
 breath,
 “ And now must make thy parting dance with death.”²

Before the year 1609, Kempe had vanished from the publick eye ; as we may infer from *The Gul’s Hornbooke* ; although not, that he was dead, as Mr. Malone decides : For, Kempe may have only retired from the scene. When Augustine Phillips, with fond recollection, remembered so many of *his fellows*, in May, 1605, he did not remember Kempe ; Yet, at the same hour, Phillips forgot Lowen also,

² Braithwayte’s *Remains*.

who outlived him more than fifty years.—Amidst so much uncertainty, I have ascertained an important fact, that on the 2d of November, 1603, *one* William Kempe was buried, in the cemetery of St. Saviour's, Southwark.³ Considering every circumstance, the time, the place, the person, the name, the previous probability; I have little doubt, but that William Kempe, the vicegerent of Tarleton, was then *caged up within a chest of earth*. I have not found any will of Kempe, nor any administration to his effects, in the prerogative-office.

Kempe was an author, as well as an actor:⁴ Yet,

³ The parish register merely states:—"1603, November 2d William Kempe, a *man*." [was buried.] The stupidity of the parish clerk has thus left a slight doubt, who *this man* was. There was buried in the same cemetery, on the 19th of December, 1603, Mary Kempe, a *woman*; on the 13th of February, 1604-5, Cicelye Kempe, a *child*. There appears, however, in the parish register of St. Bartholomew, the Less, the marriage of William Kempe unto Annis Howard, on the 10th of February, 1605-6; but without any further notice of this couple, or their issue. On the other hand, none of the parish clerks, within the bills of mortality, have found the burial of any other William Kempe; though I offered them a suitable reward, for a diligent search. On the whole, it seems to me more than probable, that William Kempe, the successor of Tarleton, was carried off the stage by the plague of 1603. I have laughed, in a foregoing page, at the decision of dogmatism on the mere authority of *The Gul's Hornbook*, with regard to the true date of the death of Kempe, which it is so difficult to ascertain; and which, after the most active inquiries, cannot be positively fixed. It is unnecessary to add, that if the death of Kempe, in 1603, be admitted as a fact, any document, which mentions him, as being alive, at a subsequent period, must be equally acknowledged to be spurious.

⁴ On the 7th of September, 1593, there was entered in the Stationers' books, A Comedie entitled "*A Knack how to know a Knave*, newly set forth as it has been fundrie times plaied by Ned Allen and his company, with Kempe's applauded merri-ment of *The Men of Gotham*."—Kempe's *New Jigg of the*

Such were the patentees of King James; and such the associates, who were adopted among the royal servants; and though they were not named in the license of 1603, yet were the original actors of Shakspeare's characters. We have seen, upon the accession of King James, *three* companies established, by collecting the discarded servants of the several noblemen. At the epoch of Shakspeare's death, there were, probably, *five* companies of players in London: viz. The King's servants, who performed at *The Globe*, and in the Blackfriars; the Queen's servants, who acted at *The Red Bull*, and became afterwards distinguished as the Children of the Revels; the Prince's servants, who played at *The Curtaine*; the Palsgrave's servants, who exhibited at *The Fortune*; and the Lady Elizabeth's servants, who performed at the Cockpit, in Drury Lane. During the same period, there were seven regular playhouses, including three on the *Bankside*; the *Swan*, the *Rose*, and the *Hope*; which, however, were not much frequented, and, early in the reign of James, fell into disuse: Yet, one Rossiter obtained a patent, under the great seal, for erecting a playhouse, *without the liberties* of London; and by virtue thereof, proceeded to convert the house of Lady Sanclair, on Puddle-wharff, into a theatre. The Lord Mayor and aldermen were alarmed: They considered this measure as an infringement of their jurisdiction: and feared the interruption of publick worship, on *the week days*, from its nearness to a church. These

a very different person. [P. 80, 83.] Sir John Davis is the first of our poets who *reasoned in rhyme*; yet the palm of *logical* poetry has been assigned, by Johnson, to Dryden; though the laureate of James II. can boast of nothing which is comparable to the *Nosce Teipsum* of Davis, for *concatenation* of argument, and subtilty of thought.

considerations, upon complaint made to them, induced the privy-council to determine, that no playhouse should be erected in that place.⁶ But, it is always more easy to resolve, than to execute. Roffeter seems not to have been terrified by the threats of commitment. Notwithstanding several prohibitions, he proceeded, though with some interruptions, to execute his purpose. New complaints were made; and fresh orders were issued.

⁶ An order was issued to that effect, on the 26th of September, 1615, in the following terms:—

“Whereas complaint was made to this board by the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the city of London, That one Roffeter and others having obtained license under the great seal of England for the building of a playhouse have pulled down a great messuage in Puddle-wharf which was sometimes the house of Lady Sanclers within the precinct of the Blackfryers, are now erecting a new play-house in that place, to the great prejudice and inconvenience of the government of that city. Their Lordships thought fit to send for Roffeter, to bring in his letters patents which being seen and perused by the Lord Chief Justice of England [Coke]. For as much as the inconveniences urged by the Lord Mayor and aldermen were many and of some consequence to their government, and specially for that the said playhouse would join so near unto the church in Blackfryers as it would disturb and interrupt the congregation at divine service upon the week days. And that the Lord Chief Justice *did deliver* to their Lordships that the *license granted to the said Roffeter, did extend to the building of a playhouse WITHOUT the liberties of London*, and not *within* the city. It was this day ordered by their Lordships, that there shall be no playhouse erected in that place, and that the Lord Mayor of London shall straitly prohibit and forbid the said Roffeter, and the rest of the patentees, and their workmen to proceed in the making and converting the said building into a playhouse: And if any of the patentees or their workmen shall proceed in their intended building contrary to this their Lordships inhibition, that then the Lord Mayor shall commit him or them so offending unto prison, and certify their Lordships of their contempt in that behalf. Of which, their Lordships order the said Roffeter and the rest to take notice and conform themselves accordingly, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril.”

At length, in January, 1617, the Lord Mayor was directed to cause Roffeter's playhouse *to be pulled down*.⁷ Yet, such directions are seldom executed, unless they be loudly called for by the publick voice. At the general *pulling down* of playhouses and bear-gardens, in 1648, Major-General Skippon was sent, with a body of horse, to assist *the levelers*.⁸

But, a new power was at hand, which, without direction, or authority, could pull a playhouse down with *armipotent* speed. "On Shrove-tuesday, the fourth of March, 1616-17," saith Howes, the *chronicler of the times*, "many disordered persons, of fundry kinds, assembled in Finsbury-field, Stepney-field, and Lincoln's-inn-fields; and in riotous manner did beat down the walls and windows of many victualling houses, which they suspected to be bawdy houses: and that afternoon they spoiled a *new playhouse*, and likewise did more hurt in other places." It was the playhouse in Drury Lane, belonging to the Queen's servants, which was thus spoiled; though the cause of this outrage does not appear. *This foul disorder* was deemed of danger-

⁷ A letter was written, by the privy-council, to the Lord Mayor of London, on the 26th January, 1616-17, in the following terms:—

"Whereas his Majesty is informed that notwithstanding divers commandments and prohibitions to the contrary, there be certain persons that go about to set up a playhouse in the *Black-fryars*, near unto his Majesty's *Wardrobe*, and for that purpose have lately erected and made fit a building which is almost if not fully finished: You shall understand that his Majesty hath this day expressly signified his pleasure, that the same shall be pulled down; so as it be made unfit for any such use. Whereof wee require your Lordship to take notice, and to cause it to be performed with all speed, and thereupon to certify us of your proceedings."

⁸ Com's Journal, 23d June, 1648.

ous consequence. And the privy-council directed the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, and the Justices of Middlesex, to hold a special sessions; for inquiring, strictly, after the offenders, and punishing, exemplarily, the guilty.⁹

⁹ The letter, which was written, on that occasion, is as follows:

“ It is not unknown unto you what tumultuous outrages were yesterday committed near unto the city of London in divers places, by a rowte of lewd and loose persons apprentices and others, especially in Lincoln’s-inn fields and Drury-lane, where, in attempting to pull down a playhouse belonging to the Queen’s Majesty’s servants, there were divers persons slain and others hurt and wounded, the multitude there assembled being to the number of many thousands as we are credibly informed. Forasmuch as the example of so foul and insolent a disorder may prove of dangerous consequence if this should escape without sharp punishment of the principal offenders: Wee do therefore in his Majesty’s name expressly require your Lordship, and the rest of the commissioners of Oyer and Terminer for the city of London and county of Middlesex, to take it presently into your care, to have a strict inquiry made for such as were of the company, as well apprentices or others, and forthwith to hold a special Sessions of Oyer and Terminer for that purpose, and there with severity to proceed against such as shall be found offenders as to law and justice appertaineth. And for that it was also observed that amongst this crew of apprentices there were an exceeding great multitude of vagrant rogues gathered together as there are always about this city ready for any mischief upon every occasion a great dishonour and scandal to the government. Wee are therefore to recommend that also unto you from his Majesty as a special charge, that you do think upon some course, and put it in execution presently for the dispatching of that sort of people and removing of them far from about the city of London and Westminster and the confines thereof, especially at this present, when his Majesty and a great part of his council are to be absent for so long a time. And as providence and discretion doth now needfully require, since this warning is given you, to have at all times hereafter an eye and watch upon the apprentices likewise, who by this experience and the like where the reins of liberty are given them, are found apt to run into many unsufferable insolencies. Touching all these points his Majesty will ex-

Leaving those directions behind him, King James departed for Scotland, on the 14th of March, 1616-17; "taking such recreations by the way," says the malignant Wilson, "as might best beguile the days, but lengthen the nights; for what with hawking, hunting, and horse-racing, the days quickly ran away, and the nights with feasting, masking, and dancing, were the more extended." Amid *sik dauncing, and deray*, King James had three plays acted before him, for preventing *hearts discontent, and sour affliction*.¹

The reign of James saw the English stage advance to its full maturity, and to the greatest splendour; not indeed in the external form, and scenick œconomy, of the ancient or present theatres, but in ingenuity of fable, felicity of dialogue, and sublimity of style, which then animated the English dramas: Such were the happy productions of the creative genius of Shakspeare! When his influence was withdrawn, by his retirement from the theatrical world, the stage as rapidly declined, till it was totally suppressed, by violence, in 1648. Owing to a remarkable coincidence, or singular fatality, the stage was deprived of its principal pillars, about the same period. Alexander Cooke died, in 1614. Shakspeare ceased to write, in 1615. Philip Hen-

pect a strict and particular account from you of your duties, whereof wee wish you may acquit yourselves as becometh you." [The council-register of the 5th of March, 1616-17.]

¹ On the 11th of July, 1617, there issued a warrant for payment to certain players, for three stage plays, that were acted before his Majesty, in his journey to Scotland, such sums of money as is usual in the like kind.—The *such sums* were probably £.10, for each play. [Council-register.]

flow, the great patron of poets, and of players, died in 1616. Edward Alleyn retired, almost immediately, from the Bankside to Dulwich. On the 13th of March, 1618-19, Richard Cowley was buried in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. In three days, Richard Burbadge, the *Roscius* of his time, followed him to the same cemetery. Robert Armin departed before the year 1622. Nicholas Tooley died in 1623. Heminges, and Cundal, seceded from the stage, about the same time; fatiated with praise, rather than with profit. There remained, nevertheless, several companies of actors, who can scarcely be traced in the obscure annals of the stage, as when little has been done, less can be related: And the successors of the race of Shakspeare neither illuminated the scene, by their brilliancy of genius, nor supported the drama, by their powers of acting.

ADDENDA

TO

FARTHER PARTICULARS

OF

THE EARLY ENGLISH STAGE.

(BY THE SAME.)

THE annals of the Theatre, as they illustrate the manners of the times, and gratify the curiosity, which is natural to mankind, will, in every age, incite enquiry, and enchain attention. The history of our stage has exercised the pens of Dr. Percy,² of Mr. Thomas Warton,³ of Mr. Malone,⁴ and of other writers of diligence and learning. In addition to their curious researches, I too presumed to publish many documents,⁵ which a hasty search discovered among the state papers; and which, as they ascertain new facts, and throw some light upon the dark passages of our drama, during the age of Shakspeare, will enable the writer, to whom shall be assigned the difficult task of writing a complete history of the stage, to instruct, by more ample

² In his *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.

³ In his *Hist. of English Poetry*.

⁴ In his *Supplement* to the edit. of Shakspeare, 1778; and in the Proleg. to his edit. of Shakspeare, 1790; also in the present volume.

⁵ *Apology for the Believers*, &c. 339.

notices, and to amuse, by more striking views of an attractive object.

After many revolutions in our publick sports, both in representation, and sentiment, from *justs to mysteries*; from *mysteries to moralities*; and from *moralities to interludes*; the English stage remained extremely rude, at the accession of Elizabeth, and still unformed, at the appearance of Shakspeare. She inherited, indeed, the dramattick establishments of her predecessors; however imperfect they were in theory, and inconvenient in exhibition. She had, evidently, as a necessary officer, a keeper of the *vestures* of her *maskes, revelles, and disguisings*: And, the earliest keeper of such *apparell*, from what I have been able to trace, was John Arnolde; who died, probably, in 1573. In the subsequent year, was appointed as his successor, her well beloved servant Walter Fyfe, in consideration of good service, theretofore done to a grateful mistress.⁶

⁶ I lay before the reader a copy of this curious commission, from the unpublished papers of Rhymer, in the British Museum. [Ayscough's *Catalogue*, N^o. 4625, p. 44.]

“ 29th Jan. De Concessione ad vitam pro Waltero Fyfe. [Pat. 16, Eliz. p. 4, M 24.]

“ Elizabeth by the Grace of God &c. To all to whom &c. Greeting:

“ Wee lett you wytt that of our Grace especyall certeyne knowledge and mere mocion and in consideration of the good and faythful service heretofore donne unto us by our welbeloved Servaunte Walter Fyfe we have given and graunted and by theis presentes for us our heires and successors doe gyve and graunte unto the said Walter Fyfe thoffice of Yoman or Keeper of our Vestures or apparell of all and singular our Maskes Ravelles and Disguysings and also of the apparell and trappers of all and singular our horses ordeyned and appoynted and hereafter to be ordeyned and appoynted for our Justes and Turneys and wee doe ordeyne constitute and make the same Walter Fyfe by theis presentes Yoman or keeper of our Vestures or Apparell of all

A specimen of the *vestures*, which Walter Fyshe was thus appointed to keep, I have already exhibited to the curious beholder.⁷

It was said by me, that our earliest actors were children: Children of St. Paul's, children of Westminster, children of the chapel.⁸ And it became, early, a common practice to purvey boys, who had musical voices, for the Royal Chapel. Tusser, who wrote *The five hundred points of good husbandry*,

and singuler our Maskes Revelles and Disguyfinges and also of the Apparell and Trappers of all and singuler our horses ordeyned and appoynted or hereafter to be ordeyned and appoynted for our Justes and Turneys To have holde occupye and enjoye the said office to the said Walter Fyshe and his sufficiente Deputie or Deputies for terme of the lyffe naturall of the said Walter Fyshe with the waiges and fees of sixpence sterling by the daye for the overseing and false kepeing of the same to be had and yerely perceaved of the Treasure of us our heires and successors at the receipte of th' exchequer of us our heires and Successors at Westminster by thandes of the Treasurer and Chamberlaynes of Us our heires and Successors ther for the tyme being at the feastes of th' annunciation of Our Lady and Saynt Michael th' archaungell by evin porcions and further we give unto the said Walter Fyshe yerely during his said lyffe one liverye coate such as Yeoman Officers of our household have of us to be yerely had and perceaved at our greate Wardrobe by the handes of the keeper or Clerke of the same for the tyme beinge and to have and enjoye one sufficiente house or mancion to be assigned unto the said Walter Fyshe for the sure better and safe keping of our said Vestures Apparell and Trappers togeather with all manner commodities and advantages to the said Office to be dewe and accustomed or in any wise apperteyning in as large ample and benefyciall manner and forme as John Arnolde deceased or any other or others Yeomen keepers of all and singuler the premisses above mencyoned have had and enjoyed or of right ought to have and enjoye the same albeit expresse mencyon &c.—Teste Regina, apud Westm. XXIX. Januarij.

[Per breve de privato Sigillo.]”

⁷ *Apology*, 354.

⁸ *Apology*, 359.

appears to have been thus taken, and appropriated, during the reign of Henry VIII :⁹

“ Thence, for my voice, I must (no choice)
 “ Away of force, like posting horse,
 “ For sundry men, had placards then,
 “ Such Child to take.”

The right, and the practice, of purveying such children, continued until the reign of James, although I know not on what principle it was justified ; except by the maxim, that the King had a right to the services of all his subjects. Sir Francis Bacon, speaking in the House of Commons, upon the grievance of purveyance, on the 7th of March, 1605-6, said, “ that children for the chapel may be taken.¹” It was, probably, from this abundant source, that some of the earliest and best of our players originated, who derived a livelihood, and rose often to eminence, by amusing the publick.

It is more than probable, that James Burbadge, who appeared at the head of the first incorporated company of players in 1574, may have been purveyed, like Tuffer, in early life, and may have forgotten his parentage. Certain it is, that during the heraldick visitation of London, in 1634, Cuthbert

⁹ His own Life, in verse, p. 141, of his book entitled *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*. Tuffer was carried by “ friendship’s lot” to St. Paul’s, where he learned musick under John Redford, an excellent musician. [Id.] The celebrated Erasmus was a *Child of the Choir* in the Cathedral of Utrecht, till he was nine years of age : He was born in 1467, and died in 1536.

¹ Com. Jour. Vol. I. 279. The fact is, that, as late as the accession of Charles the Ist, drummers were pressed for the army ; as we may clearly see, in the Privy Council Registers.

Burbadge, the eldest son of James, did not know his grandfather ; for he could only give an account of his brother Richard, the " famous actor on the stage," and of his father James, who married Ellen, the daughter of Mr. Brayne, of London.² Whatever may have been their originals, there can be no doubt, that the several Burbadges performed, respectably, on that " Stage, where every one must play a part ;" and where, many individuals play " a sad one."

² For a pedigree of the Burbadges, I owe a kindness to Francis Townsend, the Windsor Herald, who was so good as to inform me, that the same arms were allowed to Cuthbert, in 1634, as belonged to a very numerous family of Burbadges in Hertfordshire ; a circumstance, from which a connection of family is inferred. Cuthbert sometimes spelt his name *Burbage*, as did the *Burbages*, of Herts. Mr. Malone spells the name *Burbadge* : " But, the name ought rather, (he adds,) to be written *Burbidge*, being manifestly a corruption of *Boroughbridge*." [p. 228.] The arms, however, of the Burbadges were three *Boars* heads ; and their crest was a *Boar's* head. The heraldick conceit of the arms was plainly derived from the early notion that, the original name was *Boar-bage*. We thus perceive, that whatever name of that age we attempt to investigate, no uniformity of spelling can be found. We have always had *badge*, and *badger*, in our language, but not *bage*, I believe. It was said, that *Helen Burbadge*, widow, who was buried on the 8th of May, 1613, was probably the relict of James Burbadge. [*Apology*, 386.] We now see, distinctly, that he did marry *Ellen Brayne*, of London. Their daughter *Alice*, who was baptized on the 11th of March, 1576-7, and married one *Walker*, had a legacy from *Nicholas Tooley* of ten pounds by the name of " *Alice Walker*, the sister of my late Master Burbadge deceased." In the same will, there is a legacy of ten pounds to *Elizabeth Burbadge*, alias *Maxey* : Now, it appears by the pedigree, which her father gave in to the College of Heralds, that she married for her first husband, *Amias Maxey*, Gentleman ; by whom she had *James Burbadge Maxey*, who was adopted, by her father : for her second husband, she married *George Bingley*, one of the Auditors to King *Charles the Ist*.

A similar doubt has also existed, with regard to the origin of Edward Alleyn, though the biographers, indeed, assure us, “that he was born of reputable parents, who lived in good fashion and credit.”³ Yet, are we left, by biographical indolence, to enquire, who were the father, and mother, of that celebrated comedian, and beneficent man. The record of *the fact* is, however, to be found in the College of Heralds. His grandfather was Thomas Alleyn of Willen, in the County of Bucks, and of Mesham, in the County of Bedford: His father was Edward Alleyn, of Willen aforesaid: and his mother, Margaret, was the daughter of John Townley, of Townley, in the County of Lancashire, of a respectable family, which, to this day, “lives in good fashion and credit.” Edward Alleyn was born on the 1st of September, 1566, and was baptized, as I found by searching the parish register of St. Botolph, without Bishopsgate, on the 2d of the same month: Nor, can it now be any longer, reasonably, doubted, whether London be entitled to the honour of his birth. Though a younger man than Shakspeare, Alleyn was sooner praised by wits, and distinguished by the world. In the *Pierce Pennyleffe* of Nash, which was first printed, in 1592, may be seen “the *due commendation of Ned Allen* :”—“Not Roscius,” says Nash, “or Æsop, those admired tragedians, that have lived ever since before Christ was born, could ever perform more in action, than famous Ned Allen.” Nash went on to add, in the same strain of encomium, what arose from his enthusiastick admiration: “If ever I write any thing in *Latin*,

³ Kippis's *Biog. Brit.* Vol. I. p. 150.

as I hope one day I shall,) not a man of any desert here among us, (the players particularly) but I will have up; Tarleton, Ned Allen, Knell, Bently, shall be known in France, Spain, and Italy; and not a part that they surmounted in more than other, but I will there note, and set down, with the manner of their habits and attire."⁴ In the silence of Nash, we may perceive, that neither Shakspeare, nor Richard Burbadge, had distinguished themselves, as players, in 1592, when Shakspeare, indeed, had but just appeared, as a dramatick writer.⁵ It is a memorable circumstance, which ought to be strongly marked, by the historian of our Stage, that such great actors should have existed, to whom Shakspeare, at length, supplied dramas, which were fully equal to their powers of performance: And it will be found, perhaps, that the dramatist derived an advantage from the player, and the player a benefit from the dramatist. Among the players, as Alleyn was the first, so he appears to have been the most distinguished; and is even supposed, though not upon the most satisfactory evidence, to

⁴ In the opinion of Ben Jonson, who, with all his prejudices, must be allowed to have been a competent judge, Ned Alleyn was the greatest actor that had then appeared; or that would appear, according to Sir Richard Baker. Ben Jonson, who always supposed that his pen conferred immortality, addressed his 89th Epigram to Edward Alleyn:

“ And present worth in all dost so contract,
 “ As others *speake*, but only thou dost *act*,
 “ Wear this renowne: 'Tis just, that who did give
 “ So many Poets life, by *one should live!*”

⁵ In fact, it does appear, that Richard Burbadge had come out on the stage, as early as 1589; but in the inconsiderable part of *a Messenger*. [p. 415.] There is reason to suspect, that Shakspeare himself appeared as early, on the same stage, in as trivial a character. [p. 406.]

have furnished Shakspeare, by his just representation of characters, with some intimations of the celebrated precepts, which were given to the actors by Hamlet.⁶ When such doubts arise, from the difficulty of ascertaining facts of so remote a period, with regard to the principal players, we ought not to be surprised, that still greater doubts should exist, with respect to the inferior actors of Shakspeare's dramas, especially as we are without the same means of giving light to darkness.

GEORGE BRYAN, who, like greater men, will only be remembered from his connection with Shakspeare, appeared as early as 1589, in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadly Sins*: he represented Lucius, in *Gorboduc*; he played the Earl of Warwick, in *Henry the Sixth*, during 1592; he performed

⁶ In the *Apology*, p. 391, it was said, on the authority of Mr. Malone, chiefly, that Edward Alleyn married Joan Woodward, the daughter of Henslow's wife. It appears, however, from the funeral certificate of this lady, in the College of Arms, by John Gifford, the Senior Fellow, and preacher of the College; and John Symon, the Schoolmaster thereof, and a Fellow, "that she was the Daughter of the Worshipful Phillip Henslowe, Esq. one of the Sewers of his Majestie's Chamber." On that occasion, the arms of Henslow were impaled with the arms of her husband. When Alleyn entered his pedigree at the visitation of the county of Surrey, in 1623, he gave exactly the same account of his wife. In a doubtful point, whether her name were Woodward, or Henslow, the inference of the Heralds, from the impaling of the arms, ought to be decisive; that the wife of Alleyn was a Henslow, and not a Woodward. Yet, it appears by the written declaration of Henslow himself, that Edward Alleyn did marry Joan Woodward. [P. 351.] Thus difficult is it to ascertain a fact, even from satisfactory evidence; though the commentators, and criticks, demand *demonstration*, as the only proof, in the affairs of common life! In the pedigree of Edward Alleyn, he is called "Master of His Majesty's Game of Bulls and Bears, and Mastif dogs."

some of the characters in Shakspeare's earliest plays; but he did not live long enough to represent any part in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, during 1598: George Bryan was certainly dead at this epoch; though I have not been able to discover either the time, or place, of his burial; or any record of his will.

SAMUEL CROSSE had the honour, certainly to embody some of Shakspeare's fictions; and is celebrated, by Heywood, together with Knell,⁷ Bently, Mills, Wilson,⁸ and Lanam, as players, who "by the report of many judicial auditors performed many parts so absolute, that it were a sin to drowne their worths in Lethe."⁹ Crosse died, probably, before the year 1596; though I have not been able to find when, or where; nor, to discover his will; nor any administration to his estate; if indeed he left any behind him.

THOMAS POPE played his part as early as 1589, in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadly Sins*; he represented Arbactus, in *Sardanapalus*; he was, in 1597, and 1598, at the head of the Lord Chamberlayne's Servants, together with Hemings; who had

⁷ It appears by the parish register of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, that a William Knell was buried in the cemetery of that parish, on the 24th of September, 1578; that a William Knell married Rebecca Edwards, on the 30th January, 1585-6; that John Hemming married Rebecca Knell, widow, on the 10th of March, 1587-8. From these entries we may conclude that, Knell, one of the great actors of that period, is the person to whom they relate.

⁸ Robert Wilson was one of the Earl of Leicester's servants, to whom the theatrical license was granted, in 1574. A Robert Wilson made his Will on the 29th January, 1576-7, which was proved on the 1st of February of the same year.

⁹ Heywood's *Apology*.

the honour of being the first who represented Shakspeare's characters. Pope lived respectably in St. Saviour's parish, Southwark ; and rose to such eminence, as a fellow of Shakspeare, as to have equally had a share in the Globe, and Curtain, theatres ; and to have employed under him theatrical servants. He died in February, 1603-4 ; leaving considerable property to those whom he most regarded.¹ Of Ga-

¹ I here subjoin a copy of the Will of Pope, " Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury ;" as it contains some theatrical particulars which the curious reader may wish to see ; and as it exhibits Pope in a higher station than he has hitherto been supposed to have held :—

" In the name of God Amen the two and twenty of July in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and three and the first year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King James I Thomas Pope of the parish of St. Saviour's Southwark in the County of Surry Gentleman being at this present in good and perfect health laude and praise be given to the Almighty God therefore do make ordain and declare this my pnt^e Testament and last Will in manner and form following that is to say First and principally I commend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Maker Saviour and Redeemer hoping and assuredly believing to be saved through the merits death and passion of my Saviour Jesus Christ and to enjoy eternal blessedness in the Kingdom of Heaven And my body I commit to the earth to be buried in Xtian burial in the church called St. Saviours where I now dwell And I give towards the setting up of some monument on me in the said Church and my Funeral Twenty pounds Item I give and bequeath to the poor of the Liberty where now I dwell thre pounds Item I give and bequeath unto Suzan Gasquine whom I have brought up ever since she was born the sum of one hundred pounds of lawful money of England and all my Household Stuff my Plate only excepted Item I will that the said Suzan Gasquine shall have the use and occupation of all that House or Tenement wherein I now dwell in the parish of St.

briel Singer, *Pope*, Phillips, and Slye, it was remarked, by Heywood, in 1612, "that though they

Saviours aforesaid during her natural life if the Lease and Term of years which I have in the same shall so long continue and endure so as the said Suzan or her Assigns do pay the one half of the Rent reserved by the lease to me thereof from time to time and at such time as is limited in and by the same Lease amongst others made by Francis Langley Drax deceased and do also perform such Covenants touching the said Tenement as are to be done by force of the said Lease and if the said Suzan shall happen to die before the expiration of the said Term then I will that my Brother John Pope shall have the use and occupation of the said Tenement during the residue which at the time of the decease of the said Suzan shall be to come and unexpired of the said Term he doing for the same and paying from thenceforth as the said Suzan should or ought to have done if she had lived to the full end of the said Term Item I will and bequeath unto my Brother John Pope the Tenement adjoining to the east side of my said dwelling house wherein John Moden now dwelleth and during all such Term of years as I have to come and unexpired of and in the same by virtue of the Lease aforesaid so as the said John Pope and his Assigns during the continuance of the said Term do pay them half of the rent reserved by the said Lease from time to time and at such days and times as is limited by the same Lease and do perform such Covenants touching only the said Tenement to him my said Brother bequeathed as are to be done by force of the said Lease and also that my said Brother do within one month next after my decease enter into Bond of a reasonable sum of money to my Executors for payment of the said moiety or one half of the said Rent and performance of the Covenants touching the same Tenement as aforesaid according to my true meaning and intent in that behalf Item I will and devise unto Mary Clarke alias Wood all that Tenement adjoining to the west side of my said dwelling house wherein John Holland now dwelleth for and during the continuance of the Term of years which I have in the same (amongst others as aforesaid) by force or virtue of the said Lease to me made by the said Francis Langley to be by her

be dead, their deserts yet live in the remembrance of many."

holden and enjoyed from time to time free of any Rent to be paid for the same as long as she lives and after her decease I give and bequeath my Interest and Term of years then to come and unexpired of and in the said Tenement unto Thomas Bromley who was heretofore baptized in the parish of St. Andrew's Undershaft in London Item I give and bequeath to the said Marie Clark alias Wood and to the said Thomas Bromley as well all my part right title and interest which I have or ought to have of in and to all that Playhouse with the Appurts called the Curtein situated and being in Hallywell in the parish of St. Leonard's in Shoreditch in the County of Middlesex as also all my part Estate and Interest which I have or ought to have of in and to all that Playhouse with the Appurts called the Globe in the parish of St. Saviours in the County of Surry Item I give and bequeath to the said Thomas Bromley the sum of Fifty pounds and my Chayne of Gold being in value Thirty pounds and Ten shillings to be paid and delivered unto him at such time as he shall have accomplished his full age of one and twenty years provided in the mean time his Mother shall receive these Legacies in regard the use thereof may bring up the Boy putting in good security for delivering in the aforesaid Legacies at his full years of one and twenty and if the said Thomas shall happen to die and depart this mortal life before he shall have accomplished his said age of one and twenty years then I will give and bequeath the said sum of Fifty pounds and the said Cheyne of Gold unto the said Marie Clarke alias Wood to her own use Item I give and bequeath to the said Marie Clarke alias Wood the sum of Fifty pounds more provided always and my Will and Mind is that if the said Marie shall happen to die and depart this mortal life before the said Thomas Bromley then the said Fifty pounds shall remain to the said Thomas Bromley to be paid to him at such time as he shall accomplish the full age of one and twenty years. Item I give and bequeath to Agnes Web my Mother the sum of Twenty pounds of lawful money of England and to my Brother John Pope the sum of Twenty pounds and to my Brother William Pope other

ROBERT GOUGHE, who had the honour of representing parts, in the Tragedyes, Comedyes, and Histories, of Shakspeare, was, probably, bred by Thomas Pope. Goughe appeared, with his master, in *Sardanapalus*, in the character of *Aspasia*; he had a legacy from Pope, in 1603, of the testa-

Twenty Pounds Item I give and bequeath to the Children of my said Bretheren of John and William Pope the sum of Ten pounds to be paid and distributed equal amongst the same Children part and part alike Item I give and bequeath to Robert Gough and John Edmans all my wearing apparel and all my arms to be equally divided between them Item I give and bequeath to my Cousin Thomas Owen Five pounds Item I give and bequeath to my loving Friend John Jackson one Ring with a square Diamond in it Item I give and bequeath to Marie Clarke alias Woode half my plate and to Suzan Gasquine the other half being equally divided between them Item I give and bequeath to Dorothe Clark Sister to Marie Clarke alias Wood one Gold Ring with five opalls in it All the rest of my Rings I give to good Wife Willingson who is now the keeper of my house Item I give and bequeath unto my loving friend Bazell Nicholl Scrivenor the sum of Five pounds and to my neighbour and friend John Wrench the sum of Five pounds the residue of all my Goods Rights and Chattels not before bequeathed my Debts and Funeral charge being first satisfied I wholie give and bequeath to my Mother my Brothers and their Children to be equally divided between them And I do ordain and appoint my well beloved Friends Bazell Nicholl and John Wrench to be the Executors of this my last Will and Testament earnestly praying and desiring them to see the same performed in all things according to my true meaning therein And for because much of this Money is out upon Bonds I do limit for the performance of this my Will fix Months And thus not doubting but they will perform the trust in this behalf by me in them reposed In Witness whereof I have set my hand and seal.

(Signed) Thomas Pope.

“ Sealed in the prence of—John Wrench

John Edmans.”

tor's *wearing* apparel, and *arms*; he played in the *Second Mayden's Tragedy*, during the year 1611: But, he disappeared, soon afterwards, so as not to be traced, either in the play bills, or at Doctor's Commons. The Puritans, who regarded plays, and actors, with a very evil eye, considered "players, as an abomination, that put on women's raiment."² Whether Goughe, and his *fellows*, who, generally, represented women, were much affected by this reproach, it is not easy to discover, amid the disputes, about the lawfulness of the theatres. It seems to have been forgotten by the Puritans, in their zeal, that if recreation be necessary to mankind, rational amusement may be justified, as fit, from the necessity.

SAMUEL GILBURNE; who also had the honour of representing some of the inconsiderable characters of our great dramatist, served his apprenticeship with Augustine Phillips, one of the fellows of Shakspeare. When Phillips made his will, in 1605, he bequeathed to Gilborne, "his *late apprentice*, the some of fortye shillings, his mouse coloured velvet hose, and a white taffety dublet, a black taffety fute, his purple cloke, sword, and dagger, and his base violl." Other notices about Gilburne, who probably lived, and died, in obscurity, I have not been able to find, either in the play bills, or in the Prerogative Office.

WILLIAM OSTLER, from the obscurity of his origin, may be supposed to have been purveyed, like Tuffer, in early life, as a singing boy. Certain it is, that as one of the children of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel, he represented one of Ben

² *The Overthrow of Stage Playes*, 1599, without the name of the publisher, or the place. Sign. C 4.

Jonson's Characters in *The Poetaster*, during the year 1601. When he ceased to be a child, Ostler played in Jonson's *Alchymist*, in 1610; in *Catiline*, during the year 1611; and in the *Dutchess of Malfy*, of Webster, in 1623. In Davis, the Epigrammatist's *Scourge of Folly*, Ostler is praised as the *Roscus* of the times: But, so many of the players were addressed by our Poets, by the name of the great player of the Roman state, that we may reasonably suppose, they did not very nicely discriminate, when their desire to praise was scattering, with a lavish pen, their *encomiums*, which cease to be praise, if generally applied.

NATHANIEL FIELD was also one of the children of the chapel, and one of the performers of Shakspeare's characters. In Ben Jonson's *Comical Satyre*, called *Cynthia's Revells*, which was acted by the Queen's Children of the Chapel, in 1600, Field played a principal part. In the subsequent year, he acted as one of the chief comedians, in Jonson's *Poetaster*. When he left the Chapel, he became, after the accession of King James, one of the company called the *Children of Her Majesty's Revells*. In 1607, he acted the part of *Bussy D'Ambois*, in Chapman's Drama, and he performed, in 1609, one of the first characters in Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*. Whether Field were a writer, as well as an actor, of plays, has admitted of some doubt: Roberts, the player, who, smartly, animadverted on Pope's preface, spoke affirmatively, on the point; the intelligent writer of the *Biographia Dramatica* speaks, negatively; giving the disputable Dramas, to Nathaniel Field, of New College, Oxford. But, a begging letter of Field, the player, which was preserved by Ned Alleyn, among Henflowe's papers, and published by Mr. Malone, has

decided the contest, in the actor's favour : For, the letter proves, that Field asked, and received, money from the liberality of honest Henflowe, for *play writing*.³ Field, the player, published, in 1612, a comedie, called, "*A Woman is a Weathercock*;" in 1618, another comedie, entitled, "*Amends for Ladies*;" and, in 1632, "*The Fatal Dowry*," which he wrote in co-operation with Maffinger,⁴ who, being equally poor, and equally engaged in writing, when confined in *durance* with Field, joined with him, in begging the help of Henflowe. The facts before stated decide, in opposition to the Commentators, that Field, the player, was the writer of the dramas. He died before the year 1641, though I have not been able to discover either his will, or the date of his burial. It is a remark of Anthony Wood, which applies pertinently to Field, the poet-player; "So it is, and always has been, that poets live poor, and die in obscurite."

JOHN UNDERWOOD appears to have held nearly the same course, through life, as Nathaniel Field. Underwood was also one of the Children of the Chapel: He performed in *Cynthia's Revels*, during the year 1600; in the *Poetaster*, during 1601; with the King's Servants, he played in the *Alchymist*, in 1610, and in *Catiline*, in 1611: and he represented *Delio*, in *The Dutchess of Malfy*, in 1623. In this year, when Nicholas Tooley, made his will, he kindly forgave Underwood the several sums of money, which were due by him to the testator. Underwood had the honour to be one of the performers of Shakspeare's characters, and

³ P. 397.

⁴ *Biog. Dram.* I. v. 159

enjoyed the benefit of being a fellow sharer in the Globe, Blackfriars, and Curtain, Theatres. He died, in January, 1624-5 ; leaving five children, who had before lost their mother ; and now, had only their father's " kind fellows, his Majesties Servants " to protect their infant weakness.

WILLIAM ECCLESTONE was also one of the King's Servants, and equally represented with them Shakspeare's characters at the Globe, and at their usual house, in the Blackfriars. He played in the *Alchymist*, during 1610, and, during the subsequent year, in *Catiline*. Nicholas Tooley, with his usual benevolence, forgave Ecclestone, in 1623, all the debts, which were due to him. He disappeared, before the 6th of May, 1629, at which time he was no longer one of the King's players ; but, I have not been able to find his will in the registers, either of the Bishop of London, or of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He who acts an insignificant part on the stage of life, cannot hope to be long remembered, while so many men of greater eminence are daily disappearing from the publick eye.

JOSEPH TAYLOR is said by tradition, which is not supported by circumstances, to have played Hamlet, and Iago, when these characters were first represented ; to have performed *True-wit*, in the *Silent Woman*, and *Face*, in the *Alchymist* ; though this assertion is not confirmed by Ben Jonson himself. The player-editors ranked Joseph Taylor, however, among those, who had the honour to represent Shakspeare's characters. He is said to have been at the head of the Lady Elizabeth's players, in 1614. Whatever parts he may have acted, before the year 1623, he was still poor, and low : When the kind-hearted Nicholas Tooley, in

that year, made his will, he directed that, "Whereas I stand bound for Joseph Taylor, as his surety, for payment of ten pounds, or thereabouts, my Will is, that my Executors, shall out of my estate pay that debt for him, and discharge him out of that bond." It is remarkable, that Tooley does not call Taylor, a fellow. Certain it is, however, that he was enumerated among the King's Players, on the 6th of May, 1629, next to Hemmings, and Lowin. In this year, he performed the part of *Paris*, the tragedian, in Massinger's *Roman Actor*, at the private Playhouse, in the Blackfriars, with the King's Servants. Among other wits, Taylor prefixed some encomiastick verses, "to his long known, and loved friend, Mr. Philip Massinger, upon his *Roman Actor* :

" ——— But, why I write to thee,
 " Is to profess our loves Antiquitie,
 " Which to this Tragedie must give my test;
 " Thou hast made many good, but this thy best."

In 1629, Taylor played the *Duke*, in Carlell's *Deserving Favourite*: In 1630, he represented *Mathias*, a Knight of Bohemia, in Massinger's *Picture*, "a true Hungarian History." From this epoch, during many years, Joseph Taylor acted, a conspicuous part, as one of the chiefs of the King's Company, with Lowin, and Swanston. In September, 1639, he was appointed the Yeoman of the Revels, under Sir Henry Herbert, who found him an intelligent assistant. Taylor was one of the ten players, who, in dedicating Beaumont and Fletcher's *Comedies and Tragedies* to the Earl of Pembroke, in 1647, spoke with feeling recollection of "the flowing compositions of the then expired sweet swan of Avon, *Shakspeare*." Taylor

died, in 1654, at a very advanced age, indeed, if he represented Hamlet, in 1596.

ROBERT BENFIELD appears to have come late into the King's Company, and to have represented, originally, but few of Shakspeare's characters. He appeared, distinctly, among the King's Players on the 6th of May, 1629. He bustled through several parts of no great difficulty; but he seems to have never risen above the general level of the "Harlotry players." He lived to be one of the ten comedians, who, in 1647, dedicated to Philip, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Comedies and Tragedies*; but I have not found any memorial of his last Will, or of his final End.

RICHARD ROBINSON came early enough into life, and into action, to represent Shakspeare's characters, in the same scenes, with Heminges, and Burbadge. In 1611, he acted with them, and the King's other players, in Ben Jonson's *Catiline*. Even as late as 1616, he represented female characters, long after the Puritans had exhausted their malignity, in thundering out anathemas against such supposed profanations. In 1623, when Nicholas Tooley was disposing of his property by will, he gave, "to Sara Burbadge, the daughter of his late Master, Richard Burbadge, that some of twenty nine pounds, and thirteen shillings, which was owing to him by Richard Robinson." He appeared in the fourth place among the King's players, on the 6th of May, 1624. He joined with the nine other players, in the dedication of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, in 1647. There is a story told by Mr. Malone, which is repeated by Mr. Steevens, that General Harrison killed Robinson, during the civil wars;

the general crying out with a fanatical tongue, when he gave the stroke of death; "curfed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently."⁵ But the fact is, which is more credible than the story, that Richard Robinson died, quietly, at London, in March, 1647, and was buried, without an Anathema, in the cemetery of St. Anne's, Blackfriars.⁶

JOHN SCHANKE was a comedian of an inferior cast though he is ranked among those players, who had the honour of representing Shakspeare's characters. He acted the *Curate* in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, during the year 1616. Schanke was a writer, as well as an actor; And produced a comedy, called *Schanke's Ordinary*, in March, 1623-4.⁷ He stood the fifth, in the list of the King's Players, in May, 1629. He was also one of Prince Henry's Company. But, he died, probably, before the year 1647; though I have not been able to discover the time or place of his death, or the will of this poetical player, who like other poets, had little to leave behind him, to his fellows or relations.⁸

⁵ P. 269.

⁶ The parish register expressly records, that Richard Robinson, a *Player*, was buried, on the 23d of March, 1646-7: So that there can be no doubt about the identity of the person.

⁷ The license for this play stands thus, in Sir Henry Herbert's Register: "For the King's Company; Shanke's Ordinary, written by Shankes himself, this 16th March, 1623."

⁸ Mr. Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, (See Dodfley's *Old Plays*, Vol. XII. p. 344,) speaking of the early players of that century, says, "Most of them went into the King's army, and like good men and true served their old master, tho' in a different, yet in a more honourable capacity." This, however, was not the case with all, as will appear from the following

JOHN RICE has still less pretensions to fame, though he, too, performed some of Shakspeare's characters. He acted the part of *Pescara*, in *The Dutchess of Malfy*, during the year, 1623. He probably died before the year 1629; as he does not appear in the List of the King's Players, at that epoch; yet, have I not found the date of his decease, nor the record of his testament.

JOHN LOWIN, who was probably born in 1576, seems first to have appeared upon the Stage in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, with Burbadge, and Shakspeare, in 1603, after the accession of King James. In the subsequent year, he came out with Burbadge,

anecdote of one of them, extracted from *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 20, Oct. 24, 1642:

"This day there came three of the Lord General's Officers post from the Army to London, signifying that there was a great fight on Sunday last, and being brought to the Parliament, and examined, it appeared they were not sent from the Armie with any letters or otherwise, but in a cowardly manner run from their captains at the beginning of the fight, and had most basely possessed the people, both as they came away and at their coming to Towne, with many false rumours, giving forth in speeches that there were 20,000 men killed on both sides, and that there were not foure in all their companies escaped with life besides themselves, and many other strange wonders, though altogether false, it being rather conceived that their companys, like themselves, upon the beginning of the fight, very valiantly took their heels, and ran away.

"And after further enquiry was made after these commanders, it was no wonder to heare their strange news, for they were Capitaine Wilson, Lieut. Whitney, and one SHANKS a player; an affidavit was offered to bee made that one of them said before he went out with the Earle of Essex, that he would take the Parliament's pay, but would never fight against any of the king's party; and the other two were very rude and insolent persons: whereupon the House ordered they should all three be committed to the Gatehouse, and brought to condigne punishment according to Martial Law for their base cowardlinesse." REED.

and Slye, in *the Induction* to Webster and Marston's *Male-content*. The traditions, which have been handed down by Wright, and Roberts, about Lowin's representations of Falstaff, Hamlet, and Henry VIII. cannot be true, if applied to any preceding period to the accession of Charles I. More experienced Actors performed Shakspeare's characters, when they were first presented to the publick. He certainly played in the *Fox* of Jonson, in 1605, in the *Alchymist*, during 1610, and in *Catiline*, during 1611. He stood the second in the enumeration of the King's players in the list of 1629, after Hemings, and before Taylor. In the sarcastick verses, which were addressed to Ben Jonson, in consequence of his insolent treatment of the publick; it is said :—

“ Let Lowin cease, and Taylor scorn to touch
 “ The loathed stage; for *thou* hast made it such.”

These two players certainly became the chiefs of the King's Company, after the secession of Condel, and Hemmings, about the year 1627. In December, 1624, this whole company, with Lowin, and Taylor, at their head, were obliged to make a submission to Sir Henry Herbert, for acting the play, called *The Spanishe Viceroy*, without his licence, as Master of the Revels. At a subsequent period, Lowin and Swanston were obliged to ask Sir Henry's pardon, “ for their ill manners.” In 1647, Lowin, and Taylor, stood at the head of the ten player-editors of Beaumont and Fletcher's dramatical folio. In 1652, these two concurred in publishing, as a trifling resource, during the miseries of the grand rebellion, *The Wild Goose Chase* of Fletcher. During a very advanced age, Lowin,

for a livelihood, kept an inn, at Brentford, called The Three Pigeons. And, he finished his lengthened career of life, being buried in the cemetery of St. Martin's in the Fields, on the 18th of March, 1658-9, when administration to his goods was granted to Martha Lowin, who was probably either his widow, or his daughter.⁹

Such were the players, who, in conjunction with those more celebrated persons, whom I formerly mentioned,¹ were the actors, that represented Shakspeare's characters, either when his dramas first appeared, or when the original players had retired from the scene. It was little foreseen, by any of them, that Shakspeare's name would emblazon theirs; that their fame would be carried along the oblivious stream of time, borne up by his strength, and eternized by the immortality of his renown.

It must be allowed, however, that both the actors, and the dramatists, owed great obligations to the Privy Council, and to Parliament, for their several regulations of the scene; though they were not always grateful to their best friends, who supported their usefulness, if at the same time they corrected their abuses. The gentle Shakspeare sometimes touched his superiors with a fine edged lancet; Ben Jonson was prompted, by his natural ruggedness, to strike them with a butcher's cleaver. In this manner, did he attempt to resist the Privy Council's order, in June, 1600, "for the restraint of the immoderate use of Playhouses." In his *Poetaster*, which was acted, in the subsequent year,

⁹ P. 257.

¹ *Apology*, 422 to 461.

by the Children of the Chapel, he made Tucca say : “ Thou shalt have a *monopoly of playing* confirmed to thee and thy *Covey*, under the Emperor’s broad Seal for this Service.”¹ Jonson’s sarcasm incited the playhouse proprietors to persevere in opposing a salutary measure ; and their perseverance, in obstinate error, induced the Privy Council to enforce, by severer injunctions, an useful regulation.

It is from those regulations, as they stand recorded, in the Council Registers, and the Statute Book, that we now know so many theatrical facts, which gave rise to the many conjectures of the historians of our stage. It was not known, or at least, had been little noticed, that, by a regulation of the fanatick Mary, which had been enforced by the wiser Elizabeth, plays had been looked into, and reviewed, even before Shakspeare came out into scenick life. This circumspection, in respect to the morals of youth, was carried to the two Universities, about the time, that Shakspeare began to write for the stage. From their attention to morality, the prudent councils of Elizabeth extended their care to the interests of religion : As early as 1578, stage playing was forbidden in *Lent* ; and in 1587, the acting of plays, at the theatres, was prohibited on *Sundays*. For all the purposes of honest recreation, the number of playhouses was restrained to two, in 1600, the year when the bright Sun of Elizabeth began to set in Clouds.

¹ By not knowing that there had been such a restraint on the number of playhouses, the learned Whalley supposed, that awkward stroke of the morose Jonson “ to have been a slight gird at the practice of *monopolies*, now [then] growing into use.” [Whalley’s edit. 2. v. 99.] It cannot be too often repeated, that one fact is worth a thousand pages of erudite conjecture.

The dawn of a new reign brought with it uncommon changes in the scenick world. The contemporaries of Shakspeare, who, at that epoch, were placed under a better regimen, almost all disappeared, with the effluxion of time, before the demise of James, in 1625. It is a curious fact, that at this epoch, the established Companies of London strolled often into the country; owing, no doubt, to the multiplicity of associated players, and the paucity of attractive plays.² A still more remarkable fortune attended the Playhouses than the actors. In 1589, there existed in, and about, London, only two; The *Theatre* and the *Curtain*:³ Before the year 1629, there were erected, notwithstanding every opposition, fifteen additional Stages, or Common Playhouses, though these did not all exist, during the same period. In 1613, the Globe Theatre was burnt, by the negligent discharging of a peal of ordnance, during the acting of Henry VIII.

² It appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Official Register, that on the 1st of July, 1625, he granted a Confirmation of the King's Company's Patent *to travel, for a year*. [Rhym. Fœd. 18 T. p. 120.]

³ In Martin's *Month's Minde*, a scarce pamphlet, which was printed in 1589, without the name of the publisher, it was said, scoffingly: "And the other now wearie of our State mirth, that *for a pennie* may have far better by odds, at the *Theater*, and *Curten*, and any blind playing house, every day."—This whimsical writer is supposed to have been Thom. Nash:—"And this hath made the young youths his [Martins] sons to chafe above measure especially with the players, whom saving their liveries (for indeed they are her Majesties men, and these not so much as her good subjects) they call *rogues*, for playing their *enterludes*; and asses, for travelling *all day for a pennie*."—These extracts show better, than has yet been done, the number of the playhouses, and the price of admission to them, about the year 1589, being the æra, probably, of Shakspeare's acquaintance with the stage.

but it was rebuilt, in the subsequent year, in a more commodious form, and with more splendid decorations. In 1617, the Fortune theatre, in Golden Lane, was also burnt, by negligence; but, was soon rebuilt, in a handsomer style. Five Inns, or Common Ostleries, were converted into playhouses; also a Cockpit, and St. Paul's singing School; a theatre was erected in the Blackfriars: and during the year 1629, another was established in the Whitefriars.⁴ While playhouses were thus destroyed, and built; while the managers of publick amusements did not yield prompt obedience to publick Authority; Sir William Davenant was empowered, on the 26th of March, 1639, to erect a new Theatre, near the *The Three Kings' Ordinary*, in Fleet Street: But, on some disagreement with the Earl of Arundel, the Landlord, D'Avenant was obliged to relinquish a project, which he was ere long enabled to prosecute, in a different place, and form.⁵

⁴ Howe's *Chronicle*, 103-4

⁵ The admirers of the stage, and the lovers of truth, may be glad to peruse the document by which D'Avenant obliged himself to relinquish his purpose of building a playhouse in Fleet Street, which was copied from the original; and which was obligingly communicated by Mr. Craven Ord:—

“ This Indenture made the second day of October in the fifteenth yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King Defender of the faith &c Annoq Dm̄ 1639. Between the said King's most Excellent Maty of the first part and William D'Avenant of London Gent. of the other part. Whereas the said King's most excellent Maty by his highnes Letters patents under the great Seal of England bearing date the fix and twentieth day of March last past before the date of theis presents Did give and

The internal œconomy of the Stage, which our theatrical historians have laboured to display,

graunt unto the said William D'Avenant his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assignes full power license and authority that he they and every of them by him and themselves and by all and every such person or persons as he or they shall depute or appoint, and his and their labourers servants and workmen shall and may lawfully quietly and peaceably frame erect new build and sett up upon a parcell of ground lying neere unto or behinde the three Kings ordinary in Fleet Streete in the pish of St. Dunstons in the West London, or in St. Brides London, or in either of them, or in any other ground in or about that place, or in the whole Streete aforesaid already allotted to him for that use or in any other place that is or hereafter shall be assigned and allotted out to the said William D'Avenant by the Right Honorable Thomas Earle of Arundle, and Surry Earle Marshall of England or any other His Mats Commissioners for building for the time being in that behalfe a Theater or Playhouse wth necessary tyring and retyring roomes and other places convenient conteyning in the whole forty yards square at the most wherein plays musicall enterteynm^{ts} scenes or other the like presentments may be presented by and under certaine provisors or condicons in the same conteyned as in and by the said L^{res} patents whereunto relacon being had more fully and at large it doth and may appeare: Now this Indenture witnesseth and the said William D'Avenant doth by theis presents declare his Mats intent meaning at and upon the graunting of the said License was and is that he the said William D'Avenant his heires Executors Administrators nor Assignes should not frame build or sett up the said Theater or Playhouse in anie place inconvenient and that the said parcell of ground lying neere unto or behinde the Three Kings Ordinary in Fleet Streete in the said parish of St. Dunstons in the West London, or in St. Brides London, or in either of them or in any other ground in or about that place or in the whole Streete aforesaid, And is fithence found inconvenient and unfitt for that purpose, therefore the said William

though not in absolute clearness, may receive some illustration from the sarcasm of a satirist, during King James's reign, who has been little noticed, by our scenick writers. In *Follies Anatomy*, by Henry Hutton, it was said, sarcastically :⁶

“ Blackfriers, or the Paris-garden bears,
 “ Are subjects fittest to content your ears.
 “ An amorous discourse, a Poet's wit
 “ Doth humour best your melancholy fit.
 “ The Globe to-morrow acts a pleasant play,
 “ In hearing it consume the irksome day :
 “ Go take a pipe of *To*, the crowded stage
 “ Must needs be graced with you and your page :

D'Avenant doth for himselfe his Heires Executors Administrators and Assignes and every of them covenante promise and agree to and wth or said Sovereigne Lord the King his Heires and Successers That he the said William Davenant his Heires Executors Administrators nor Assignes shall not nor will not by vertue of the said License and Authority to him granted as aforesaid frame erect new build or sett up upon the said parcell of ground in Fleet Streete aforesaid or in any other part of Fleet Streete a Theater or Playhouse, nor will not frame, erect, new build or sett up upon any other parcell of ground lying in or neere the Citties or Suburbs of the Citties of London or Westm^r any Theater or Playhouse unles the said place shall be first approved and allowed by warrant under His Mats signe manuell or by writing under the hand and seale of the said Right Honble Thomas Earle of Arundell and Surrey. In Witness whereof to the one pt of this Indenture the said William D'Avenant hath sett his Hand and Seal the Day and Yeare first above written.

William D'Avenant. L. S.

Signed Sealed and Delivered

in the presence of

Edw. Penruddoks.

Michael Baker.

⁶ Printed for Walbank, 1619, in 12mo.

“ Swear for a place with each controlling fool,
“ And send your hackney servant for a fool.”

Whether Henry Hutton lived to write more of *Follies Anatomy*, at a later period, I am unable to tell: Another wit of an higher vein of humour found abundant materials, for his satyrick muse, during subsequent scenes of religious, and political, Contention, “when civil dudgeon first ran high.” The remnant of the commons of England, in setting forth, parliamentarily, their own merits, to the general assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, boasted, that they had suppressed all Stage Plays, and interludes, the nurseries of vice, and profaneness.”⁷

⁷ In a Letter from the House of Commons in England to the General Assembly of Scotland: Printed by Husband, in 1648.

END OF VOL. III.

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